THE OVERTHROW OF STAGE-PLAYES,

By the way of controversie betwixt *D. Gager* and *D. Rainoldes*, wherein all the reasons that can be made for them are notably refuted; *the obiections answered, and the case so cleared and resolved, as that the iudgement of any man, that is not froward and perverse, may easilie bee satisfied.*

WHEREIN IS MANIFESTLY PROved, that it is not onely vnlawfull to be an Actor, *but a beholder of those vanities.*

WHEREVNTO ARE ADDED ALSO and annexed in the end certaine Latine Letters betwixt the said *Maister Rainoldes* and *Doct. Gentiles*, Reader of the Civill Law in *Oxford*, concerning the same matter.

The second Edition.

John Rainolds

AT OXFORD,
Printed by IOHN LICHFIELD, Printer to the famous Vniversitie, for *E. Forrest* and *W. Webbe*,
Anno Dom. 1629.

Larmel
1895

A.P.W.

The Printer to the Reader.

THe vanity and vnlawfulneſſe of Plaies and Enterludes hath beene often ſpoken againſt by the holy men of God. The danger and hurt that commeth by them hath beene plainely laid open by ſundry fruitfull treatiſes of this our age. Farther it ſeemeth that the Lord himſelfe by ſundry his viſible iudgements from Heaven, hath pronounced a ſenſible væ against them even in the face of the world. Witneſſe Paris Garden and other places where diverſe haue beene grievouſly hurt, wounded, and maimed; and ſome by lamentable death and deſtruction vtterly cut of and conſumed. Theſe and ſuch like warnings and examples going before ſhould (a man would thinke) haue been a fearfull precedent to the ſucceeding age that came after. But alas our practiſe ſheweth it to be far otherwiſe, Th'vſuall flocking and gadding that we ſee dayly before our eies to theſe Play-Houſes and idle places of entercourſe (many leaving their houſes and ſundry neceſſary duties vnperfourmed, yea not ſparing the very Sabath it ſelfe, nor fearing the prophanation thereof, ſo they may therein ſerue their vnruly appetites and affections) doth ſufficiently diſcry a farre off of what mettle we are made, and wherein the treaſure of our hart conſiſteth.

Th'Iſraelites that were ſo backward and vnwilling to ſerue the Lord and to follow his ordinances, were yet willing enough (we ſee) to ſpare their earings and moſt precious Iewels to the furtherance of Idolatry & worſhipping of a Calfe. This is truely, Exod. 32.

good Reader (I speake it with griefe) the very case and disease of to many of vs at this day. There is nothing in a maner tedious and burdensome vnto vs but the furtheranee of holy Religion, and the Christian practise of the same: on the other side there is nothing commonly so deare and of price vnto vs, but the loue of our vanities & fleshly delights can easily make it melt & consume. Moue men to contribute any thing to the reliefe of Gods Saints, or to the re-edifying of a decayed Church and place of praier, alas they haue in a readinesse without study a whole budget full of lets & excuses, able to drown and extinguish a better mans deuotion then theirs. Why, they giue forsooth, in their owne parishes they haue a great charge at home, or els they are so indebted and behind hand, that they can not, &c. And yet to the mainetenance of their pleasures, or to nouzle themselues in their vanities (whether it be in apparell, gamening, gadding to plaies, masking, dauncing, bellicheare, shewes, or such like.) It is wonder to see how chearfully they can vntie their purse-strings Mat. 15.21. without respect either of parish, home charge, debt or any thing else. The young man in the Gospell went away sorrowfull and mourning, but when? When our Sauiour bade him, Goe sell all that he had, and follow him. Wherein if we marke the wordes wel, the holy Ghost seemeth to lay down vnto vs that the young mans griefe did arise not only from this, in that he was to depart with his substance and wealth, which he loued so dearely, but also from this that he must depart with all to so base, so hard, and dangerous an end as he imagined, namely To follow Christ, wherein he saw there was no earthly comfort and felicitie to be hoped for. For if our Sauiour had enioyned him to sell that he had for his better attendance on Cæsars Court, or for his preferrement to any place of credite or commoditie, like enough it would not haue gone so nigh him, nor haue beene any such gall

or

or coraſie to his heart, but, to ſell all and follow Chriſt, this was the ſtinger that made him thus to hang downe his head, to looke droopingly, and to fling away thus inwardly wounded and diſcontented. And hath not this young man to many followers and ſucceſſours in this age of ours? Or, are there not Iſraelits enough among vs ready to giue any thing to the golde Calfe, and repining at euerie thing that they ſhould depart withall to the good of Gods Church? Doe we not ſee before our eies, how he that can hardly be drawne to ſpare a peny in the Church, can yet willingly and chearefully affoord both pence and teaſters enough for himſelfe and others at a play? Nay more, are there not ſome that neuer gaue groat in their liues to the furtherance of any good cauſe without grudging, and yet to feede and foſter themſelues in their vanities & ſuperfluities, haue full gallantly ſpent themſelues & their patrimony in all maner of riot and licentiouſnes? The Lord lay not this ſin to their charge but humble them to repentance before the day of his wrath.

This treatiſe therfore of that thrice Reuerend man Maiſter D. Rainolds, *againſt Stage Playes (being a notable looking glaſſe for ſuch cold Chriſtians as theſe, and comming from a man of thoſe rare and incomparable gifts, enuyed and yet admired of his very enemies for his learning, iudgement, and pietie) falling by Gods prouidence into my hands, I thought it not my part good Reader (though it ſhould be in ſome reſpect offenſiue to the Author himſelfe) to conceale & keepe backe from thee in regard of the publike benefit that may therby ariſe to the Church of God: And ſo much the rather, in that the matter herein laid down, is handled in another ſort by way of controuerſie, and far otherwiſe canuaſed both by ſound arguments, diuine and humane authorities, then to my knowledge hath been done by any man that euer wrote in that cauſe before. His aduerſary Mai-*

ster D. Gager *is likewise, I vnderstand, a man of gifts, a good Schollar, and an honest man, and (as it should seeme by Maister* Rainoldes *his seuerall answeres and replyes) hath said more for the defence of* Plaies *then can bee well said againe by any man that shall succeede or come after him. So that the cause being thus wittely and schollerlike mainetained on th'one side, for, and in defence of plaies, and yet in the end all this rampier of defence quite ouerthrowne and laid flat to th'earth by an vnresistable battery of profound and vnanswerable arguments and resolutions on the other side, this must needes make the case more cleare and euident in the eies of any man of iudgement, then if it had not beene gaine said or withstoode at all. I haue been informed also that Maister* Gager *himselfe vpon the last reioinder of Maister* Rainoldes *hath let goe his hold, and in a Christian modestie and humility yeelded to the truth, and quite altered his iudgement. If it be so (good Reader) and that so graue and learned a man hath chosen rather with that* auncient *father* humile peccatum, *then* superbam ignorantiam, *be not thou for thy part wilfull and obstinate in thy conceit, whosoeuer thou art, but ponder the reasons and arguments on th'one side, consider the dangers & inconueniences on the other side. And if thou haue beene bewitched with his vanity heretofore, see whether the aduised perusall of this excellent treatise may happely by Gods mercie vnwitch thee againe. And take this with thee for a generall lesson and obseruation while thou liuest,* That whatsoever thy flesh, according to the common course of carnall men, delighteth in, suspect thou there is mischiefe in it, though thou bee able to defende it by thy reason. *Surely for mine owne part, I am perswaded if this present discourse bee read, marked, and digested as it should be, the gentlewoman that sware by her troth,* That shee was as much

much edified at a play as ever ſhee was at any ſermon, &c. *will, ere ſhe die, be of another minde, though it may be ſhee ſaied true then, in regard of her owne negligence and backwardnes in not giuing eare to the word of God with reuerence. The like may fall out alſo to theſe men too, that haue not beene afraid of late dayes to bring vpon the ſtage the very ſober countenances, graue attire, modeſt and matronlike geſtures and ſpeaches of men and women to be laughed at as a ſcorne and reproach to the world, as if the hipocriſie of Iudas (if it were brought vpon the ſtage) could any whitt diſgrace the Apoſtles of our Sauiour Chriſt, and yet if theſe men had but thus farr exceeded, kept themſelues there, and gone no farther to the foule prophaning and abuſing of the holy Scriptures of God, their ſinne had not beene halfe ſo great as it is. Well to heale, if it may be, or at leaſt, to correct the bad humour of ſuch humoriſts as theſe (who in their diſcouery of humours doe withall fouly diſcouer their owne ſhame and wretchednesſe to the world) here is now laied before thee (good Reader) a moſt excellent remedie and receipt, if thou canſt be ſo happie to make thy profitte of it. Reade it therefore and diſgeaſt it, and, if thou finde good thereof, giue God the glorie, and bleſſe his Name for ſo worthy an inſtrument.*

Thine in the Lord.

Master D. *Rainolds* answere vnto Master D. *Gager*, concerning Theater-fights, Stage-plaies &c.

I AM much to thanke you, Master *D. Gager*, for both your letters, and your *Tragedie*: the more for that you *haue enlarged the answere to Momus* (as you signifie) *because you vnderstood that I and others should aske why those things were not answered which were obiected.* Indeed, as our Saviour [a] when he was smitten by one for speaking nought but reason, said, *If I haue spoken evill, beare witnesse of the evill; but if well, why dost thou smite me?* So they, whose obiections against plaies you attributed to the person of *Momus*, and thereby noted them as vniust reprouers, might iustly say, in my iudgment; *If our reasons be naught, discouer their naughtinesse; if good, why doe you Mome vs?* And whatsoever others had cause to thinke of themselues, yet I must needs thinke my selfe touched therein; although I should yeeld vnto your request (which I most gladly doe) in that you pray me, *not to mistake your meaning*; protesting *your intent is not to note any man, but onely Momus.* For [b] I did reproue our *Theater-fights* and *Stage-plaies*, as [c] *hurtfull and pernicious*, many yeares agoe: and this yeare, ere your *Momus*, or any of your Enterludes came vpon the stage, I had (in letters written to our good friend Master D. *Thornton*) alleaged those reasons, which you make *Momus* vse, against them. Now *Æsopes* tale of *Momus* (as [d] *Aristotle* sheweth in that your selfe mention of his reproving *nature for setting bulls hornes vpon their heads, not vpon their shoulders*) was deuised to checke such as reproue vniustlie the best and perfectest workes of the most wise and skilfull. To the which purpose sith you rehearse it also, and inferre vpon it, that *the man who taunteth plaies with* [e] *the rascall reproches*

a Iohn. 18. 23.

b Præfat. Thesi ad Acad. Oxon.

c Pestes Iceni-corum theatralia spectacula.

d De partib. anim. lib. 3. cap. 2.

e Probr. Arrepta quæ congessit ex triuiis,

reproches there ſpecified, *offendeth in the ſame ſort*: how can it be avoided, but I who had vttered thoſe things againſt plaies, though deeming them ſound reaſons, not *raſcall reproches*, muſt thinke my ſelfe charged vnder the name of *Momus*? Vnleſſe I ſhould bee ſo vnwiſe as to ſuppoſe, that my friend a lawyer, ſaying, *If Sempronius borrow a horſe of Seius, and ride him a mile farther then Seius was content he ſhould,* [f] *hee committeth theft*, the ſpeech doth not charge mee with theft, though I had done ſo, becauſe the lawyer meant not to charge me, whom he loueth, nor knew perhaps that I had done it; but his meaning was to charge *Sempronius* onely. Wherefore albeit you meane not to note any man but onely *Momus*, as you proteſt, and I beleeue you; yet you meane withall (I trowe) the ſame that [g] *Tully*, when hauing reproued the couetouſneſſe of Chieftaines and Gouernours of their warres, I (quoth he) *name no man; Wherefore no man can bee angrie with me, vnleſſe he will confeſſe firſt of himſelfe.* Which I doe not mention to proue that I haue cauſe of being angrie with you (be it farre from me) although I confeſſe my ſelfe to haue written thoſe things which they, who ſpeake, are ſtained with *Momus* name by you: but onely to ſhew that by your ſpeech againſt *Momus*, notwithſtanding your intent to note no man but him, yet you note vs all, in him, as vniuſt reprouers of plaies, whoſoeuer inveigh againſt them as hee doth. And this your ſelfe cannot chooſe but ſee and grant, if you call to minde your verſes *ad Zoilum*, and Epiſtle *ad Criticum*: For you will profeſſe (I hope) that your intent is not to note any man but only *Zoilus* and *Criticus*: Yet, if any finde ſuch fault with your *Tragedie*, as you controle them for: you will not denie but you meane to note him as a malitious *Zoilus*, and a carping *Criticke*. Your wordes enforce ſo much, in that you tell the *Criticke*, that *who ſo carpeth at the baſeneſſe of your matter and ſtyle, doth not blame you but Homer; And who ſo blameth Homer, he muſt needs bee a Zoilus.* I muſt pray you therefore, not to miſdeeme of me, that I miſtake your meaning, when I thinke you purpoſed to note generally all reprouers of plaies:

[f] L. quiiumenta. D. de furtis, Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 2.

[g] Pro lege Man.

plaies, as vniuſt reprovers: and ſo doe take my ſelfe, though not intended by the *Cenſurer*, who did not aime at mee; yet touched by the *cenſure*, which in event doth light vpon mee.

As for that you adde, that *vpon confidence of your owne conſcience, and the truth of the things themſelues, you aſſure your ſelfe, that I cannot be diſpleaſed*: I will aſſure you alſo that I miſlike nothing in your entitling *Momus* vnto our reaſons of reproofe, or in your anſwere to them, if, as you approue your cauſe of confidence on the one part, ſo you ſhall on the other. For your proteſtation of your own conſcience doth binde me by the law of charitie to thinke that you haue done this in ſingleneſſe of heart, without ſpite and malice. But the truth of the things themſelues, that you challenge, belongeth to the reaſons fathered on *Momus*, not to your anſwere, in my opinion. Whereof, leaſt you ſuſpect it to proceed rather from a conceited phanſie, then a ſound iudgment, I will open to you my groundes and inducements: requeſting you the ſame that [h] *Horace* did a friend of his; *Si quid noviſti rectius iſtis, Candidus imperti; ſi non, his vtere mecum.* And, becauſe in weighing your anſweres with the reaſons I ſhall bee occaſioned to name this or that part, by circumſtances, of your plaies, as *Antinous, Eurymachus, Hippodamia, Melantho*, the reſt of *Penelopes* wooers, or her maides, *Phemius, Irus, Rivales, Phædra, or her Nurſe*: I muſt pray you to deale with me in this caſe, as you deſired to be dealt with, that is, to take my words, as ſpoken of *Hiſtrio* (to faine a perſon like your *Momus*) with no intent to note any of your plaiers; no more, then if they had not ſeene the ſtage at all, but [i] *Roſcius* and *Æſopus* had plaied thoſe parts, not *Chriſt-Church-ſtudents*. Whom, and you for them, I ſhall finde the readier to grant this, I truſt: becauſe both my conſcience doth beare me witneſſe before God, that I beare none of them evill will, nay, I wiſh vnto them all as to my ſelfe; and I aſſure you I knowe not who they were that plaid any of thoſe parts, nor what their names be.

[h] Epiſtolar. 1. epiſt. 6.

[i] Quæ gravis Æſopus, quæ doctus Roſcius egit Horat. epiſt. lib. 2. epiſt. 1.

To the first reason then (for I will take them in your own order) that Stage-plaiers are infamous *by the civill law*, you answere that [k] *they are not all, but onely such as play for gaine-sake*: which you avouch is proued by the *Prætors* words. But that which you make the *Prætor* say, as distinguishing, *Qui suo spectaculum Mercedis ergò præbet, infamis fiet*; the *Prætor* saith not. Nay, contrariwise [l] he saith without all distinction, generally and simply: *Infamia notatur, qui artis ludicræ, pronuntiándive causa, in scenam prodierit.* And *Vlpian* (whose [m] place you quote for proofe thereof) doth report him so, with these very words: *Ait Prætor, Qui in scenam prodierit, "infamis est"*. But *Vlpian*, expounding these words of the *Prætor*, citeth some [n] lawyers saying, that *they are infamous, qui quæstus causa in certamina descendunt, & propter præmium in scenam prodeunt:* and hereof you conclude, that [o] *they, who come not forth into the stage for gaine-sake, are not infamous.* By which kinde of reasoning one might conclude likewise, that sith by [p] the scripture a woman taking mony for prostituting her body to men is infamous: therefore she is not so, who doth it freely; much lesse, who giveth mony to haue her lovers companie; whom yet [q] the Scripture counteth most infamous of all. Howbeit, had those lawyers, in adding, *quæstus causa*, intended your conclusion; which I knowe not whether they did, but admit it: nevertheless you know that a [r] lawyer also, perhaps more learned then they, hath made this note thereon, *Immo & qui sine quæstu omnes enim scenici probrosi Augustin. lib. 2. de civit. Dei, cap. 11. & tribu moveri soliti. Livius lib. 7.* wherein, as hee gathereth, that such as come vpon the stage without gaine, are proued by S. *Augustine* and *Livie* to be infamous, because S. *Austin* and *Livie* doe shew that all stage-plaiers (free plaiers not excepted) were branded with a marke of infamie & dishonestie, disfranchised in a sort: so he confirmeth hereby (which was and ought to be the drift of his note) that by law the plaiers without gaine are infamous, not onely such as plaie for gaine-sake. And this doe their wordes, whom hee alleageth, implie, if they be vnfolded and weighed

[k] Famosus ergo est quisquis in scenã exit? Prætor negabit.

[l] Prætoris verba dicunt. D. de his qui notantur infamia. L. 1.

[m] L. 2. parag. Ait Prætor.

[n] Pegasus & Nerva filius.

[o] Non ergo quenquã scena, sed quæstus notat.

[p] Deut. 23. 18.

[q] Ezek. 16. 33.

[r] Dionysius Gothofredus comment. in corp. iur. civ. edit. 2.

C.

weighed indifferently, according to the rules of law for doubts thence rising: to witt, that [s] *custome is the best interpreter of lawes*; and, [t] *autority of things still iudged of alike hath the force of law*. For St [u] *Augustine* groundeth his [x] generall conclusion vpou the ancient practise and order of the *Romans* testified by [y] *Tullie*: who saith that their *auncestors, counting all kinde of stage plaies shamefull and dishonest, agreed that such persons should not only want the honour of other cittzens, but also be disfranchised by the controlement and checke of Censors*. Neither were they checked with this reproach & ignominie of old time alone, but in *Liuies* age too: yea, before, and after; at least, with the blemish and staine in mens opinion, though not with the punishment. [z] *Cornelius Nepos* saith, that *to come on the stage & be a spectacle to the people, was coũted no dishonesty or shame among the Gracians; among the Romans it was. Laberius*, a gentleman of *Rome*, taking pleasure in writing of poems, [a] when *Cæsar praied him to play them himselfe vpon the stage, he yeelded as constrained by the Princes request; but signified so much in his prologue, and declared withall what a blotte it was vnto him: Ego bis tricenis annis actis sine nota, Eques Romanus ò lare egressus meo, Domum revertar mimus: nimirum hoc die Vno plus vixi, mihi quàm vivendum fuit.* [b] *Iuvenal*, rebuking men of noble parentage tainted with like dishonour, doth touch them vnder *Lentulus* name, with this censure: *Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit, Iudice me dignus vera cruce*. So shamefull a matter seemed it to him for *Lentulus* to play the part of *Laureolus* (one, who in a Tragedie was fained to be hanged, as *Melantho* in yours) that he thought him worthy to be hanged in earnest for it. Moreouer, he prosequuteth the point in such sort, that he cutteth off all opposition and reply, whereof else a shew, but shew alone, might be made against this testimony and the former. For the Grecians spoke of by *Cornelius Nepos* did come vpon the stage for gaine, at least [c] some of them: though his speech concerning them (in the branch I cited) be generall, like [d] *Tullies*, without that limitation; and so must contrariwise be meant

[s] L. 37 D. de legib. Senatusq; consult.
[t] L. 38. D. eod.
[u] L. 1. 2. de civ. Dei cap. 13.
[x] Quisquis civium Romanorũ esse scenicus elegisset, &c.
[y] De repub. lib 4
[z] Or Æmilius Probus de vita excellent. Imperat. præfat.
[a] Macrob lib. 2. Satu. ca. 7.
[b] Satyr. 8.
[c] As the degenerate Lacedæmonian widdowes, whom he mentioneth.
[d] Li 4. de repub August. de civit Dei, lib. 2. cap. 10.

meant touching the *Romans*. *Laberius* had a ring and money giuen him by *Cæsar*: though he shew sufficiently, that *where-as no ambition,* [c] *no reward euer, no feare no force, no autoritie, could make him a stage-player in his youth; much lesse should it haue done in his olde age at threescore yeares: it was necessity only, euen Cæsars requeſt*, that is, *constraint*, which brought him to it. The men of noble parentage, whom *Iuvenal* rebuketh, were hired, as [f] himselfe noteth; and the storie of [g] *Nero*, who bought those needy squires to doe that service, recordeth; though *Iuvenal* adiudgeth them vnworthy of life, not only in respect that they played for their fee, but euen that they played too; as may appeare by that which followeth, *Nec tamen ipse Ignoscas populo: populi frons durior huius, Qui sedet & spectat triscurria patriciorum, Planipedes audit fabios ridere potest qui Mamercorum alapas*. For seeing that hee findeth fault with the people, who sate and beheld the fowle misorders and scurrilities (such as your *Antinous* & other wooers practise) of persons nobly borne; who heard the race of *Fabius* resembling & counterfeiting such base ridiculous things as are expressed in *Irus*; who could abide to laugh at blowes & whirrets giuen to the *Mamercians*, as you would say vnto *Vlisses*: he sheweth that the very action it selfe, all regard of lucre, or whatsoeuer motiue haue brought them to it, set apart, was dishonourable & shamefull in his iudgment. But his like or sharper inveighing against *Nero*, touching whom he addeth, [h] that *it was no marvell if noble men were stage-plaiers whē the prince was a minstrell*, doth put the matter out of doubt: in as much as he, comparing *Nero* to [i] *Orestes*, both murderers of their mothers, maketh *Nero* worse in many respects, and this amongst them: *In scena nunquam cantavit Orestes*. Wherein, by "*cantavit*, he meaneth not only that *Nero* plaied a minstrels part vpon the stage, as *Phemius* on yours: but also that he played the partes of men and women, perhaps with song alone as your *Hippodamia*; perhaps with song and speech both, as *Eurimachus*; but partes of men and Women certainly.

This, obscurely signified by *Iuvenal* himselfe mentioning the tragicall

[e] Nulla vnquā largitio.

[f] Consumptis opibus vocem Damasippe locasti Sipario, clamosum ageres vt phasma Catulli.

[g] Nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales in scenam deduxit. Tacit. Annal. li. 14.

[h] Res haud mira tamen citharædo Principe mimus Nobilis.

[i] Par Agamemnonidæ crimen.

k tragicall habit of *Thyestes*, *Antigona*, *Menalippe*, worne by the offspring of *Domitius*, that is, by *Nero*; l *Suetonius* maketh plainer; saying, *Tragadias cantavit personatus*; and, *Inter cætera cantavit Canacen parturientem, Orestem matricidâ, Oedipodem excæcatum, Herculem insanum. In the last of which tragedies it is reported that a yong souldier* (one of *Neros* gard) *being set to keepe the entrie, when hee saw Nero attired and bound with chaines, as the argument required, he ranne to him to helpe him*; thinking (poore freshwater creature) that his maister had beene chained in earnest. Another, better acquainted then he with stage matters; and hauing serued longer, m when *Nero* plaied the first of them, namely *Canace*, the souldier being asked by some who met him in the cittie what the *Emperour* was doing, *He is travailing with child*, quoth hee. The singing then vsed Vpon the stage by *Nero* for which *Iuvenal* counteth him worse then *Orestes*, was his playing of mens and womens parts in tragedies. But *Nero* never plaied for gaine: nay, he was so farre from it, that, when a *Prætor*, who did sett forth plaies, offered him n about eight thousand pound to be an actor, he tooke the paines, o refused *the mony, & disdaining to doe ought for hire. Iuvenal* therefore counteth all stage-plaiers infamous, not only such as played for gaine. And what should I adioyne the testimonies of others, learned, vnlearned, both sortes declaring what *Roman citizens* thought herof; For beside *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *&c.* who hath written of *Nero* that hath not attainted him with this reproach? The common people euen souldiers, reckoned his stage-playing among his vitious acts: as, p in a conspiracie thas was made against him, hee heard to his great griefe, when *Subrius*, *Flavius*, a Tribune, being demanded by him why he had sought his death, answered, *Oderam te, nec quisquam tibi fidelior miles tum fuit, dum amari meruisti; odisse cepi, postquam parricida matris, & uxoris, auriga, histrio, & incendiarius extitisti*: and *Sulpitius Asper*, answering more briefly to the same demand, said, *Non aliter tot flagitijs eius subveniri posse*. Neither was it the baseneſse thereof in comparison of his imperi-

k Ante pedes Domiti, longum tu pone Thyeste Syrma, vel Antigonę seu personam Menalippes.

l In Ner. ca. 21.

m Dio, Ner. in Xiphil. epist.

n Sestertium decies. Suet. Ner. cap. 21. ὀδὸν ἀργυρίου μυριάδας. Dio. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐκ ἐθέλων, ἀπαξίωσε, μισθὸν τι τούτου.

o as Dio Snith expressly and Suetonius signifieth not saying that it was giuen him but that a Prætor offered it.

p Tacit Annal. lib 15.

imperiall maiesty, that they detested only, as his *chariot driving* vpbraided him with all might giue cause to thinke, were it not a whelpe too of [q] the same litter: but the dishonestie & lewdnesse, which accompanying commonly that trade, by many occasions incident into stage-plaies, made such men infamous; and therevpon was noted, though as a more eminent fault in him then others, yet as a fault in others also. *Pecuniam ob delicta dedit*, saith [r] *Tacitus*, telling how *Nero* brought those poore decaied gentlemen of noble houses to the stage: and blaming [s] him, that *he did not rather giue them mony to keepe them from offending* (so he termeth *stage-playing* of it selfe without gaine) *then to driue them to it*. And *Dio*, a Senatour of *Rome*, well acquainted with their lawes and orders by [t] sundry great offices of state borne among them, [u] amplifying that iniury done to more also, and to meaner persons then *Tacitus* speaketh of, nether all rewarded like them peradvēture, sure *Dio* giuing no inckling of that as the shame of it, saith, [x] *it was most shamefull and grievous that they entred, some willing, some marvelous vnwilling, but they entred, [y] as the most infamous persons, to the stage, & played both tragedies and comodies.* Wherefore sith the practise and iudgment of the *Romans* noted all stage-players generally with infamy, not only such as played for gaine: it followeth that the meaning of their law was generall, and so all stage-players to be infamous by the *civil* law. Which law, if it deserue, though not the title of [z] *the best* applyed to it by your *Momus*, yet of [a] *good and Godly*, giuen it by you in the rehersall of his wordes, as you will grant it doth: I leaue it to your owne consideration, what credit your apologie of those plaies deserueth. Chiefly seeing *Nero*, whō that law condemned, might haue vsed the same defence against his *Momus*, that you against yours, and knit it vp with the same words; *Quis hic rogavit sportulam, vel quis dedit? Cui non patebant sponte sine lucro fores?* And thus farre of your answere to the first reason.

q Circenses ludi. Sueton. Ner. cap. 22.

r Annal. li. 14.

s Eius flagitii est qui pecuniam ob delicta potius dedit, quàm ne delinquerent.

t Lib 43. & 49.

u Xiphil. epi.

x καὶ αἴσχιστον καὶ δεινότατον.

y ὥσπερ ἐς ἀτιμότατοι.

z Egregia verò laus & ingenuum decens Agere Histrionem lege famosum optima.

a Agere histrionem, lege damnatum pia est.

To the next, drawen from the best law indeed, euen the law of God [b] which forbiddeth *a man to put on womens raiment*; a thing

b Deut. 22 5.

a thing though not distaining all stage-plaies, yet well nigh all, and there amongst all yours you answer that [d] it is not vnlawfull simply and *alwaies, as if one doe it to saue his life, to benefit many*; & hereof you conclude, that to doe it in plaies is not vnlawfull. Of the which enthymeme (to call the triall of your arguments to the touchstone of Logicke) the consequution doubtlesse is vnsound and naught, what oeuer the antecedent bee: and the antecedent, although in the ballance of humane reason it may seeme to haue weight, yet if it be weighed in the [e] skales of the sanctuarie, will proue vnsound and light too. For the holy *Ghost*, the Spirit of truth teacheth vs that [f] *it is not* lawfull *for vs to doe evill, that good may come thereof*. When [g] *Christ* on a Sabbath day *went through the corne, and his Disciples were an hungred, they began to plucke the eares of corne & to eat*. The pharisees reproued them for it; but vniustly: because it was not evill to work vpon the Sabbath day in such a case. For by evill is [h] *sinne* meant. [i] *Sinne is the transgression of the law. The* [k] *law* allowed *Priests* to work [illegible]e Sabbath day in offering *sacrifices*. And [l] *sacrifice* did [illegible] please God in comparison of mercy. [m] Therefore, to doe that worke of mercy and charitie for the reliefe of hungry bodies vpon the Sabbath day, was not evill. Contrariwise, when *Peter*, [n] being in danger of trouble and vexation, if he had been known to be of *Christs* Disciples, [o] did thereupon denie that hee *knewe him*, or *had been with him*: he was put in minde by *Christs* [p] words & [q] deeds, and he did acknowledge by [r] his owne teares, that hee should not haue done so. Why? Because he lied, and [s] to lye is evill; not allowed in any case by [t] our *Lawgiuer*, no [u] not for the defence of the glory of God, much lesse for the safety of man a [x] *worme*. By conference and laying of which things together we are taught this difference between the moral law, and the ceremoniall, that the ceremoniall was not enioined to be kept absolutely and simply; and [y] therefore when it could not be kept without the breach of the morall law, the law of loue and charitie, it yeelded thereunto: but the morall law is simply and absolutely enioined to be kept, as a patterne of that

[d] Semperne? Quid si cogeret Iethi metus Mutare vestem? publicum quid si bonum suaderet? and, Nã ergo iuveni est grande simpliciter nefas, Mollem puellam inducere.
[e] 2. Tim. 3. 16.
[f] Rom. 3. 8.
[g] Mat. 12. 2.
[h] Rom. 3 7.
[i] 1. Ioh. 3. 4.
[k] Num. 28. 9.
[l] Hos. 6. 7.
[m] Mat. 12. 7.
[n] Luke 22
Vers. 31.
[o] Vers. 56.
[p] Ver. 34.
[q] Ver. 61.
[r] Ver. 62.
[s] Exod. 20. 16.
Psal. 1[illegible]
Z[illegible]n. 8. 16.
Ephes. 4 25.
[t] Iam. 4. 13.
[u] Iob. 13. ver. 4. 7. & 10.
[x] Iob. 25. 6.
[y] 1. Sam. 21 4.
Mat. 12. 3.

holineſſe which God requireth in [z] his children, [a] *Be yee holy for I am holy*; and therefore, [b] who ſo breaketh any part thereof, though to keepe another part, doth defile himſelfe, and diſpleaſe the higheſt. Now, the prohibitiō of men to be attired as women, women as men, belongeth to the morall, not to the ceremoniall law. For [c] *Chriſt* hath deliuered vs frō the keeping of the ceremoniall. So that, were this difference of attire a ceremonie, then Chriſtian men and women might each cōtinually weare the others rayment: as lawfully; as they may [d] weare a garment made of linen & wollen; ſow their field with maſlin; [e] *plow with an oxe and an aſſe*; [f] *eat of ſwines fleſh*; *of* [g] *blood*; *of ſtrangled*: if not more lawfully rather then theſe laſt, which [h] the *Apoſtles* did forbid the *Gentiles* for a time, in reſpect of the Iewes. But they may not weare each the others raiment: as the generall precepts abſolutly giuen in [i] the new teſtament touching the diſtinct and ſeuerall attire of both ſexes, ſhew. It is a cōmandment therefore of the morall law, that women ſhal not attire themſelues like men, neither men like women. And hereof it followeth that if a man might ſaue his life, or benefit many, by putting on womans raimēt, yet ought he not to do it becauſe it is euill. Nay (which addeth greater weight vnto the reaſon) it is a notorious and deteſtable euill: as [k] the Spirit ſheweth by the words enſuing, *For all that doe ſo are abomination to the Lord thy God*. And ſeeing that himſelfe hath giuen this cenſure, God forbid but we ſhould thinke it moſt true & iuſt: although our weake eye-ſight could diſcerne no cauſe, why ſo ſmall a matter, as fleſh and bloud might count it, ſhould be controled ſo ſharply. Howbeit, if wee marke with iudgement and wiſdome, firſt, how this precept is referred by learned *Diuines* to the cōmandment [l] *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery*, ſome [m] expreſly making it a point annexed thereto, ſome impliedly, in that either [n] they knit it to modeſty, a part of temperance, or [o] note the breach of it as ioined with wantonneſſe and impuritie: next, among the kindes of adulterous lewdneſſe how filthie and monſtrous a [p] ſinne againſt nature mens naturall corruption and vitiouſnes is prone to; the Scripture

[z] Rom. 8. 14. Eph. 4. 24.
[a] Lev. 19. 2. 1. Pet. 1. 15.
[b] Rom. 3. 7. and 6. 2.
[c] Gal. 4. 9. Col. 2. 16. Heb. 8. 13. and 9. 11. & 10. 1.
[d] Lev. 19. 19.
[e] Deut. 22. 10.
[f] Lev. 11. 7.
[g] Deut. 12. 16.
[h] Act. 15. 29. and 21. 25.
[i] 1. Cor. 11. 7. 1. Tim. 2. 9.
[k] Deut. 22. 5.
[l] Exod. 20. 14.
[m] Calvin. harmon. in lib. Moſ. expoſ. ſept. præcept. Beza leg. Dei mor. ceremo. & Poſit. D. Babingt. expoſit. of the command.
[n] Procopius in Deut. Tho. Aquin. 22. 22. q. 169. art. 2. Hyperius de fer. Bacchan. Cypr. epiſt. 61. Chryſoſt. hom. 38. in Mat. Liran. in Deut. 22.
[o] Rom. 1. 27.

ture witnesseth it in [q] *Cananites*, [r] *Iews*, [s] *Corinthians*, [t] other in other nations, & [u] one with speciall caution, *Nimium est quod intelligitur*: thirdly, what sparkles of lust to that vice the putting of womans attire on men may kindle in vncleane affections, as [x] *Nero* shewed in *Sporus*, [y] *Heliogabalus* in himselfe; yea certaine, who grew not to such excesse of impudencie, yet arguing the same in causing their [z] boies to weare long haire like women: if we consider these things, I say, we shall perceiue that he, who [a] condemneth the female whore and male, and, [b] detesting specially the male by terming him a *dogge*, reiecteth both their offerings with these words that *they both are abomination to the Lord thy God*, might well controll likewise the meanes and occasions whereby men are transformed into dogges, the sooner, to cut off all incitements to that beastly filthinesse, or rather more then beastly. But whether this were part of the cause that moued the spirit of God, or no: it is cleere and certaine that hee pronounceth them abominable in his sight, or (as the *Hebrewes* speake more forcibly) *abomination*, whosoeuer put on the different sexes raiment. And so, it being simply and absolutly vnlawfull, because it is forbidden by the morall law, & proued to be evill, a fowle abominable evill in Gods sight: the Christian faith instructeth vs that wee may not doe it for any good to come thereof, no not for the sauing of honour, wealth, or life, of others, or our selues. The arguments, whereby you striue to proue the contrarie, are drawne frō two exāples: One of the *Macedonians*, whose king *Amyntas* entertaining *Persian* ambassadors, & hauing at their request brought noble women to the banket, when the embassadours dalying with them did touch their brests, & offred some to kisse them; * the kings sonne, misliking their lascivious actions, desired thē to giue the women leaue to goe forth, pretēding they should return neater, & so by this direction there came in their steed yong men, attired like them, with daggers vnder their garmēts who slew the embassadours as soone as they offered to touch them: The other of *Achilles*, whose mother *Thetis*, at the time of the *Troian* warre, knowing (as *Poet* saine) that hee should die

[q] Gen. 19.5.
[r] Iud. 19.22. 1.Kin.14.24. 2.King 23.7.
[s] 1.Cor.6.11.
[t] Aristot. polit. lib.2.cap.9. Senec. ep.95.
[u] Quintil. l.1. cap.4.& lib.2. cap.2.
[x] Sueton. in Ner. cap 28.
[y] Lamprid. in Heliogab.
[z] Hora. carm. lib.2. Od.5. Catul. in nuptias Iuliæ. Iuvenal. Satyr. 8. Acer si comes.
[a] Deut 23.v.17
[b] Vers.18.

* Veste filius Amyntæ indui iuvenes muliebri dum iubet, tot feminis Claris pudorem seruat, & petulantiam Persis superbam cede præclara exuit,

die at *Troy*, if he went thither with the *Grecians*, did therevpō attire him (they say) as a woman, and committed him as her daughter to *Lycomedes* king of *Scyros*,* there to bee kept safe from that danger. For hence you conclude that a man may lawfully put on womans raiment to benefit others, to saue his life; because the *Macedonians*, by their young *Princes* motion, and *Achilles* did so. Which argument if it hold, then may a man lye to saue his life, or benefit others, because [c] *David* did so: then may a man forsweare to saue his life, or benefit others, because [d] *Peter* did so. For the examples of [e] *Prophets* and [f] *Apostles* are surer grounds to build on, then of *Achilles* or *Macedonians*. But you will not say that wee may forsweare, nor lye (I hope) for any cause; sure the *Scripture* will not, neither the* best *Diuines*; no not [h] *Schoolemen*, or [i] *Canonists*, which yet in many points are farre beneath the best. You must remember therefore that wee are to liue by lawes, not by examples: and regard in *Macedonie*, and *Greece*, as in [k] *Rome*, *not what is done there, but what ought to be done there*. Else, by these very examples that you stand on, not onely kings, but also their sonnes may put to death; & that, for wanton touching, not only for adulterie; nor their owne subiects alone, but forraigne embassadours; yea, their seruants also, though innocent & giltlesse; & make a booty of their carriage, their treasure, their furniture; all against the kings advice and commandement: for [l] so did the sonne of *Amyntas*. And a man, whose country doth need and craue his service in lawfull warre against their enimies, may, for feare of death, vse [m] *Vettienus* his shifts to keepe at home; a youth, that is in loue, may put on maidens raiment, as [n] *Chærea* did the *Eunuches* for his *Pamphilaes* sake; a sonne may obey his mother, not [o] in the Lord, but against the Lord, and by her commandement behaue himselfe vndutifully, cowardly, wantonly: for [p] so did the sonne of *Thetis*. Wherein by the way you may obserue too, both what inconvenience and danger of vncleannesse cleaueth to this practise: and how Heathen men by the light of nature did descrie the shamefulnesse of it and condemned it. For as he

*Vitam tuetur filius Thetidis suam.

c 1. Sam. 21. 2.
d Mat. 26. 72.
e Iam. 5. 10.
f Mat. 5. 14.
* Iustin. Mart. apolog. ad Anton. Impe. August. lib. de mendacio, & contra mendacium: and others of the soundest Fathers. Calvin, Tremellius, Iunius, in Exod. 1. and the rest of ours.
h Magist. sentent. li. 3. dist. 38. T. Aquin. 22, 22. quæst. 110. art. 3. and the rest.
i Cap. Super eo. extra de vsuris: and all the Canonists thereon.
k L. 13. D. de officio Præsidis.
l Herodot. in Terpsichore.
m Valer. Max. lib. 6. cap. 3.
n Terent. Eun. e Ephe. 6. 1.
p Statius Achilleid. lib. 1.

hee whose fact * your selfe adiudge wicked, *Clodius* I meane, *q* did satisfie his villanous lust with *Cæsars* wife by cladding himselfe in womans raiment: semblably *Achilles* deflowred *Deidamia*, king *Lycomedes* daughter, by the same occasiõ. And *Statius*, who reporteth the story (so to terme it with you) most exactly, saith *r* that *Chiron*, the instructer and bringer vp of *Achilles*, would not haue suffered his mother to haue had him away, *Si molles habitus & tegmina fœda fateri Anus foret*: that *Calchas* the *Prophet*, being filled with *Apollos* spirit, cried out, *O scelus, en fluxæ venunt in pectora vestes; Scinde puer, scinde, & timidæ ne crede parenti*: that *Achilles* himselfe did say vnto *Deidamia*, *Neque ego hos cultus, aut fœda subissem Tegmina, ni primo te visa in littore*; & *s* and vnto his mother, *Paruimus genitrix, quanquam haud toleranda iubebas, Paruimus nimium*; and vnto *Vlysses*, that *Maternum nefas* had caused him to put on *indecores, fatorum crimina, cultus*. The which resolutions & speeches being attributed to heathē men by an heathen, and him an excellent Poet, who so well discerned what was fit and seemly for euery one to speake & thinke that in this respect he is preferred by a *t* learned iudicious author before *Homer*; doe argue and declare, that wise & vertuous persons, represented in *Chiron*, would not haue a mā for safegard of his life vndergoe the shame of wearing womans raiment; that religious folke hauing the spirit of GOD, as *Calchas* is imagined, accounted it a hainous crime, & wished children to rent such raiment when it were put on, and therin disobey their parents; that ingenuous valiant youths, like *Achilles*, may be ensnared for loue sake to weare it, not for life; and doe it for reuerence of parents, though with griefe; and lay the fault afterward vpon their mothers, and the destenies, that they were tainted with such dishonour. Thus is it apparant euen by the example which your selfe commend, that, as St *Paul* obserueth on the like occasion, nature and scripture teach the same: and the morall law of God, and law of nature, agreeing both in one, doe proue it to be simply vnlawfull and euill for men to put on womens raiment. But suppose it were

* Mollem puellam induere, scelus est Clodio; Non est Achilli Clodius stuprum parat.

q Sueton in Cæs cap. 74.

* Id quod crebra testari potest historia.

r Achilleid. lib 1.

s Lib. 2.

t Iulius Cæs. Scaliger. Poet. lib. 6. cap. 6.

u 1 Cor. 11. 14.

not vnlawfull simply & alwaies, because a [u] great Divine saith *it is a great questiō whether a man may doe it to deliuer his coũtry from an enimy*, though [x] himselfe seeme to approue the negatiue; and a certaine [y] Schooleman, affirming it to be *euill and naught of it selfe*, saith that *it may nevertheless be done for necessity*, perhaps [z] vpon I know not what conceit of somewhat ceremoniall in it; but suppose a man might doe it for the sauing of his life or country: yet your reason faileth in the consequution, that a man may therefore doe it to play a part in comedies or tragedies. [a] *David*, when *he was hungry did eate the shew bread, which was not lawfull for him to eate*: and our Sauiour sheweth that he did well therein. But if he hath done it in sport and of a merriment, when no need enforced: the law, which [b] condemned a man for *gathering sticks vpon the Sabbath day*, would haue condēned him too. The graue *Athenian* Iudges, *Areopagitæ* did neuer punish any (I trow) for killing quailes to supply his want. But [c] whē a lewd boy did pick out quailes eyes of a wanton humor, they iudged him worthy of death for it. Good Emperours haue [d] allowed men to doe their workes of *tillage and husbandry on the Sunday*, when other daies the season serueth not. What? to haue stage-playes vpon the Sunday therefore, or running of horses, or beare-baitings? No: they [e] disallowed it. He that should spend his life as [f] *Samson* did, in auenging himselfe of the *Philistines*, might haue the same testimony of faith which [g] *Samson* had. But if one should spend it to shew men Theater-pastime, as [h] that fellow did who plaied *Icarus* before *Nero*, and falling down nere to his *chāber*, *sprinkled him with blood*; well might he earne the praise of *Icarus*. wherefore albeit a man for the performance of necessary duties might put on womens raimēt yet would it not follow therof, that he may doe it to play a part in enterludes; Much lesse will that conclusion follow, which insteed hereof you set downe generally, thereby to fetch about this hidden conclusion. For you doe infer, as proued by those examples with the contrary of *Clodius*, that [i] *it is no fault for young men to weare womens raiment, but to doe it (as*

Clodius

[x] S. Austin. Soliloquior. lib. 2. c. 16.
[y] In that hee addeth these words, Fortasse verior vir futurus.
[z] Thomas of Aquine, 2ª 2æ q. 169. art. 2. & q. 12. quæ. 101. art 2.
[a] Mat. 12. 3.
[b] Num. 15. 32.
[c] Quintil. lib. 5. cap 9.
[d] L. 3. c. de feriis.
[e] L. 11. c eod. & Cod. Theo. lib. 15. tit 5.
[f] Iud. 16. 30.
[g] Heb. 11. 32
[h] Sueton. in Ner. cap 12.
[i] Non ergo vestis fœminea inuenit scelus; Sed prava mens, libido malitia ac dolus: nec habitus vllus, sed animus turpem facit.

Clodius) *with a lewde intent of committing whoredome, beguiling, and deceiuing: neither doth any apparell but the minde, make a man diſhoneſt.* And ſo aſſuming hereto, that * *none of your young men*, who were attired like women, *had any ſuch intent or meaning*; you imply by conſequence that it was no fault for them to be attired ſo; and therefore men may lawfully put womens raiment on to play. But what a foundation this frame is built vpon, the conſequence in religion and reaſon both will ſhew. The Scripture ſaith that [i] *women, praying, or prophecying, ought to haue a vaile or couer on their heads in token of ſubiection: but* [k] *men ought not to haue ſo.* Now, what if a man ſhould preach or pray in the Church with ſuch a vaile as women beare in this reſpect; with a call (for examples ſake) or with a french hood: ſhould he offend or no? Your inference ſaith, Nay, vnleſſe he weare it with a lewd intent, as *Clodius* did. For *no apparell, but the minde, doth make a man diſhoneſt*: and therefore * it is *no fault for a man* to pray with a *French hood* on his head. But Saint Paul ſaith otherwiſe: and, though he would grant the wearing of it with *Clodius* minde to be a greater fault; yet a fault would he iudge it to weare it with *Penelopes*, becauſe the very wearing of it, is forbidden. The [l] *Ciuill law*, ſpeaking of mens and womens garments, ſome peculiar to either, ſome common to them both, defineth thoſe to be common, *which both may weare without reproofe*; *peculiar, which both may not*. Women ſhall haue no garments peculiar now to them, if your ſpeech be true. For men may weare their peticoats, kirtles, and whatſoeuer elſe without reproofe: becauſe it is not any apparell, but the mind, that makes a man blame-worthy. The [m] Prophets reprehend the people of *Iurie* and *Ieruſalem*, for vanitie in apparell. The [n] *Apoſtles* require modeſty and decencie therein. The [o] *Fathers*, inſtructing folke of ſeuerall ſexes, eſtates, and profeſſions, giue ſpeciall precepts of the ſame. The [h] Philoſophers and [q] Statemen,

* Quid ſimile nobis obiicere quisquam poteſt? Quid cogitatum tale? quis

i 1 Cor. 11. ver. 5. & 10.

k verſ. 4. & 7.

* Non ergo velum fœminæ viro eſt ſcelus; Sed prava mens, libido, malitia, ac dolus: Nec habitus vllus ſed animus turpem facit.

l L. 23. D. de auro, argento, mundo.

m Eſai 3. 17. Soph. 1. 8.

n 1 Tim. 2. 10. 1 Pet. 3. 3.

o Clem. Alex. pædag. lib. 2. cap. 10. 11. & 12. lib. 3. cap. 2. 3. & 11. Chryſoſt. orat. Calend. habit. Hiero. epiſt. 2. ad Nepot. ep. 4. ad Ruſticum. ep. 8. ad Demetriad. ep. 47. de vitando ſuſpecto contubernio.

p Xenoph. lib. 2. de dict. & fact. Socr. ex Prodico. Cic. lib. 1. de offic. poſt. Panetium.

q Cato. Lev. lib. 34. Lyſander. Plut. apoph. regum & imperet. Archidamus. Zeuxidami. Plut. apophthegm. Lacon.

haue

haue thought ſome raiment comely for honeſt perſonages, ſome vncomely. All greatly ouerſeene, if it be no ſhame for what ſo euer perſon to goe attired how ſo euer; and euery one may weare of any matter, faſhion, colour, price he liſt. But if they were not ouerſeene all, which for ſome of them wee are ſure they were not, then muſt we acknowledg, that, as in meates and drinkes [r] *that which goeth into the mouth, defileth, not the man*; yet, if men drinke too much [ſ] *wine*, they are defiled by their intemperance and riot: likewiſe in apparell, that which cometh vpon the backe, diſhoneſteth not the man; yet, if men weare coſtlier garments then they ought, they are diſhoneſted by their riotous and vnmodeſt behauiour. And ſo, if any man doe put on womens raiment, he is diſhoneſted and defiled, becauſe he tranſgreſſeth the boundes of modeſty and comelyneſſe, and weareth that which Gods law forbiddeth him to weare, which mans law affirmeth he cannot weare without reproofe: though otherwiſe a womans raiment of it ſelfe doth neither diſcommend nor commend the wearer, no more then [t] meate *maketh vs acceptable to God*; [u] *For the kingdome of God is not meate, nor drinke* (I may adde nor *apparell*) *but righteouſnes and peace and ioy in the holy Ghoſt*. Wherefore you had done better ſervice to the truth, if, in ſteed of your eager knitting vp of this point with this *epiphonema*, [x] *Curſed is the gloſſe that corrupteth the good text*, you had obſerved rather as [x] *Tertullian* doth, that *the good text* you ſpeake of, I meane, the holy Scripture ſpecifieth not any apparell [*] *Curſed by God, but only womans worne by man*; and had applied it alſo againſt mens wearing of it in ſtage-plaies, as [y] hee doth. At leaſt I could haue wiſhed your cenſure had beene milder, if not in regard of a younger Preacher, who did ſo expound that text in a godly Sermon before your booke was Printed: yet in conſideration of that ancient Father, with [z] many other worthy men, whoſe learned writings doe gloſſe it in the ſame ſort, & of [a] generall counſell, which noteth mens wearing of womens raiment though in plaies, as a heinous crime. But if our gloſſe be curſed, who ſay that in the generall ſentẽce of the Scripture,

r Mat. 15. 11.
ſ Eph. 5. 18.
t 1. Cor. 8. 8.
u Rom 14. 17.
x Maledicta textum gloſſa quæ vitiat bonum.
x De idololat. cap. 16.
* Maledictus omnis qui muliebribus induitur.
y De ſpectac. cap. 23.
z Cypri. Chryſoſt. Calvin. & Hyperius, in the places quoted in my letters to D. Thornton.
a Sext. Synod. in Trul. can. 62.

All

All men are abomination that put on womans raiment, the speciall is comprised, *Players are abomination that put on womens raiment*; a thing which your Law-glosses obserue vpon your [b] lawes, as standing with reason, and therevpon doe gather (agreably to a [d] rule of law) that *he, who forbiddeth the generall, will not haue the speciall practised*; and, *every speciall is suspended, whē the generall is suspended*: what maner a glosse is yours which deduceth out of the generall affirmatiue a particular negatiue, that is, a flat contradictory; & turneth, *All are*, into *Some are not*; and delivereth as a rule that it is no dishonesty for a man to weare whatsoeuer apparell, if his minde be chast?

Yet the third reason, wherein plaies are charged, not for making young men come forth in whores attire, like [d] the lewd woman in the *Proverbs*; but for teaching them to counterfeit her [e] actions, her [f] wanton kisse, her impudent face, her [g] wicked speeches and entisements; should haue been allowed euen by your owne glosse and exposition of the text: sith * you say vpon it, that *different behaviour becommeth different sexes, and it beseemeth not men to follow womens manners.* [h] *Thetis* taught *Achilles* how to play the woman in gate, in speech, in gesture: *Sic ergo gradus; sic ora, manusq; nate feres, comitesq; modis imitabere fictis.* And because his mother had not taught him enough, or he was but a bad scholler: [i] *Deidamia* gaue him farther advertisemēts, how *he must hold his naked brest, his hands*, & so forth. These are womens manners vnseemly for *Achilles* to imitate: he should not haue done it. How much lesse seemly then is it for young men to dance like women, though like [k] those, who praised God with dances: and much lesse seemely yet to dance like vnhonest women, like [l] *Herodias*? whereby what a flame of lust may be kindled in the hearts of men, as ready for the most part to conceiue this fire, as flax is the other [m] Christian writers shew in part by *Herodes* example: but a [n] Heathen *Poet* more fully by his owne experience; affirming that hee was not rauished so much with his mistresses face, though marueilous faire and beautifull, nor with her *haire hanging downe loose after the fashion about her smouth necke*; nor

[b] L. 5. C. de legib. & constitut. Princ. L. 3. c quando prouoc. non est necesse.
[c] L. 147. D. de regulis juris Semper specialia generalibus insunt.
[d] Prov. 7. 10.
[e] Ver. 11.
[f] Ver. 12.
[g] Ver. 18.
* Distincta serum forma distinctum decet, Virile nó est fœminæ mores sequi.
[h] Stat. Achilleid. lib. 1.
[i] Lib. 2.
[k] Exod. 15. 20.
[l] Mar. 6. 22.
[m] Chrysost. hom. 49. in Mauh Hyperius de feriis Bacchan. Vives de instit. fœminin. Christ. lib. 1. cap. de saltationibus.
[n] Propertius lib. 2. eleg. 8.

with her radiant eyes, like ſtarres; nor *with her ſilkes*, & outlandiſh braverie; as he was with *her gallant dancing*. And greater reaſon is it you ſhould condemne all ſtage-plaies, wherein young men are trained to play ſuch womens parts, becauſe, vnto *Momus* terming the ſtage as [n] *a ſchoole of ſcurrility and wantonneſſe*, you reply, that [o] *merry things are called wanton by him*, and that [p] *hee is not able to alleage one word ſavouring of ſcurrilitie*. As if you had ſaid, that, could hee make proofe of the leaſt ſcurrility or wantonnes therein, your ſelfe would condemne them: according both to Chriſtian pietie, by the [q] *Apoſtles*, and to civill honeſtie by the [r] *Philoſophers* precept. Which ſheweth that you acknowledge it vnſeemely alſo for men to play ſuch mens parts, as defile their mouthes with vnmodeſt ſpeeches; much more, as ſtaine their bodies & mindes with wanton deeds. [s] When *Critobulus* kiſſed the ſonne of *Alcibiades*, a beautifull boy, *Socrates* ſaid he had done amiſſe and very dangerouſly: becauſe, as [t] certaine ſpiders, *if they doe but touch men only with their mouth, they put them to wonderfull paine and make them madde: ſo beautifull boyes by kiſſing doe ſting and powre ſecretly in a kinde of poyſon, the poyſon of incontinencie*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaking of vnholy and amatorie kiſſes, ſaith: Amatorie [u] embracing goeth in the ſame line with amatorie kiſſing, if not a line beyond it. Amatory dancing is, in [x] *Homers* wantons, as oile vnto the fire: and the [y] commendation that [z] *Tully* giueth it in bankets, S[a] *Ambroſe* giueth it in ſtage-plaies. Herewithall if amatorie pangs be expreſſed in moſt effectuall ſort: can wiſe men be perſwaded that there is no wantonneſſe in the players parts, when experience ſheweth (as wiſe men haue obſerved) that [b] *men are made adulterers and enimies of all chaſtitie by comming to ſuch plaies?* that [c] *ſenſes are moued, affections are delighted, hearts though ſtrong and conſtant are vanquiſhed by ſuch players?* That [d] *an* [e] *effeminate ſtage-player, while hee fumeth*

n Scurrilitatis ludus, ac laſciviæ.
o Ludicrum petulàs vocat.
p Scurrile tu proferre ne verbum potes
q Eph. 5.4.
r Ariſt. Polit. lib. 7. cap ult.
ſ Xenoph de dict. & fact. Socr. lib. 1.
t περὶ φιλήσεως. Ariſt. de hiſt. anim. lib. 9. cap. 39. Dioſcorid. lib. 6. cap. 42.
u Pædagog. l. 3. cap. 11.
x Procul impudicos corpore & caſto amove Tactus: quid hoc eſt? etiam in amplexus ruit.
y Odyſſ. & D.
z Multarum delitiarum comes eſt extrema ſaltatio Orat pro Muræn.
a De pœnit. lib. 2. cap 6, Chry. hom. de Dav. & Saul: periculoſum eſſe adire ſpectacula quodq; ea res adulteros perfectos facit.
b Cyp. ep. 2. ad Donatum.
c Minutius Felix, in octavio.
d Enervis hiſt. amorem dum fingit, infingit.
e Noſtra tibi ſoli impudens Vaſa eſt juventus ingenua, caſta, elegans, Generoſa, docta.

loue

lone, imprinteth wounds of lone? Moreouer, sith oflike things you must needs iudge alike: you disallow the practising of other vices also, as well as of wantonnesse & scurrility. Which I presume the rather, because you say of your actors, the yong men of your house, that *they are ingenious, learned, chast, well nurtured, and vertuously disposed.* For if, vpon this praise giuen them by you, I should reply, as [f] *Phocio* the *Athenia* did who, when the king of *Macedonie* (his countries secret enemie) sent him a hundred talents, & he demanding of the bringers why among so great a number of the *Athenians*, the king sent that to him alone, they answered that the *King thought him alone an honest man; Then let him suffer mee both to seeme and be such a one*, quoth *Phocio*: I assure my selfe you would reioine that you wish them to seeme & be such as you avouch they are; and therefore that you would no more haue them doe any thing, whereby they might hazard the losse of any other of those good qualities, or the credit thereof, then whereby of chastitie.

[f] Plut. apophthegm. reg. & imperat.

Now, within the compasse hereof doth the playing of sundry parts in Comedies fall, as of cosening varlets, bale parasites, and the rest, reproued by *S.* [g] *Cyprian*: of sundry parts in Tragedies, as of ambitious, cruell, blasphemous, godlesse catiffes, and such as [h] *Horace* noteth, *Sponsi Penelopæ, nebulones, Alcinaiq. In cute curanda plus æquo operata iuventus*: in a word of all such parts in whatsoeuer plaies, as [i] *Salvianus* censureth with that [k] Text of Scripture, [l] *The foole doth commit wickednesse in pastime*; and the [m] Scripture teacheth they are no better then madde men, *As a mad man casteth firebrands, arrowes, and mortall things; so is hee that deceaueth his neighbour, and saith, was I not in sport?* For, the care of making a shew to doe such feates, and to doe them as liuely as the beasts themselues in whom the vices raigne, worketh in the actors a marueilous impression of being like the persons whose qualities they expresse and imitate: chiefly when earnest and much meditation of sundry daies and weeks, by often repetition, and representation of the parts, shall as it were engraue the

[g] De spectac. cap. 5.
[h] Epist. lib. 1. epi. 2.
[i] De gubern. Dei. lib. 6.
[k] Prov. 10. 23.
[l] As the Seauentie interpreters (who his Latin followeth) expressed it in Greek: agreeing with the Hebrew in substance, though hauing peraduenture read the letter beth amisse instead of Caph.
[m] Prov. 26. 18

things in their minde with a penne of iron, or with the point of a diamond. In which consideration the spirit of God instructeth vs, that we ought to [n] imitate, resemble, [o] *follow God, and* [p] *Godly men, and* [q] *that which is good;* [r] *not any evill thing, but good only; and* [s] *meditate,* [t] *exercise those things.* And the Paynim Romans, though [u] bound to haue stage-plaies by their superstition in honour of their Deified *divels.* Yet [x] *destroied Theaters once as vnprofitable, & likely to breed publike* [y] *corruption of manners.* And the [z] *Lacedemonians,* by their ancient orders, *might not heare comedies nor tragedies:* because *they would not haue their lawes gainsaid, though in iest.* Neither would the [a] *Massilias* suffer any stage-plaiers to come amongst thē: *least the custome of beholding evil things represented should breed licentiousnes of following them.* And [b] *Solon,* when *Thespis* the first tragedie-player, being demanded by him if hee were not ashamed to vtter such lyes before so great a company, said *it was no harme to speake and doe such things in sport;* the graue old man, striking the ground with his staffe, *But shortly* (saith hee) *wee, who doe commend and approue this sport, shall finde it in our earnest contracts and affaires.* This if that discreet *Athenian* lawgiuer, if the *Romans,* the *Lacedemonians,* the *Massilians* feared in the beholders and hearers, & feared not without cause, as [c] experience taught: how much greater outrage of wickednes and iniquitie are the actors & players thēselues likely to fall into? Seeing that diseases of the minde are gotten farre sooner by counterfeiting, then are diseases of the body: and bodily diseases may bee gotten so, as appeareth by [d] him, who, faining for a purpose that he was sicke of the gout, became (through [e] care of counterfeiting it) goutie indeed. So much can imitation & meditatiō doe. Wherefore in my iudgment considering what your selfe doe grant, or must by consequence, such plaies as bring in wooers masked, & dancing, vsing much vnmodest behauiour in words and deeds; young men

[n] Μιμεῖσθαι & μιμεῖς
[o] Ephe. 5.1.
[p] 1.Cor. 11.1. Heb.13 7.
[q] 1.Pet.3.13. 3 Ioh.ver.11. ζηλοῦν καλόν.
[r] 1.Tim. 4 15.
[s] Liv.l.7.c.25. 27.et 9 August lib.1.de civ.Dei, c. 32. Paul Oros. lib.3. cap.4.
[x] Liv.ep.lib. 48. Aug. lib.1. de civ. Dei, cap.31.
[y] Theatra stupandis modis orientia statim destruebant: saith Tertull. speaking of the old Romane lawes, Apolo. cap.6.
[z] Plutar. inst. Lacon.
[a] Val: Max. lib.2. cap.6.
[b] Plutarch. in Solone.
[c] Isocrat. orat. de pace: et Ariopagit. Cornel. Tacit. Annal. lib.14. Aug. lib.1. de civ. Dei cap.33 Salvian. de guber. Dei, lib.6 et 7.
[d] Martial epig: lib 7. epigram 38.
[e] Quantum cura potest, et ars doloris? Desiit fingere Cæsius podagrum.

in

in womens raiment, & supposed to be gentlewomen, dancing with them; *Eurimacus* kissing of *Melantho*, and *Melantho* bewailing the cause that *no more kissing, nor dancing now* when she must be hanged; *Riuales* fond & amarous; mariners beastly drunken; *Phædra* incestuously embracing and endeuouring to inflame her sonne *Hippolitus* with loue-speeches; the *Nurse*, and a new *Nymph* thereto, bringing fewel enough to heale and melt a heart of ice or snow; with other things haply, which, as [f] *Æschines* said of *Demosthenes*, *What if you had heard himselfe?* So they who were present, and beheld the plaies, can better tell then I: such stage-plaies I say, you ought in my iudgment acknowledge to be iustly charged and condemned by the third reason. But [s] you, proposing it briefly, that *much time was lost & misspent amongst them*, make answere that *there was not*; & adde sundry arguments to iustify the spēding of time and paines therein. S.[n] *Cyprian* writing of a stage-plaier who made boies effeminate by instructing them how to play the woman, & to expresse & counterfeit vnhonest wanton gestures, saith, [i] *he was a master apt of teaching but spilling children*, Whose words put me in mind that the losse of time should not haue beene obiected so much against your plaies: seeing some of the plaiers (if they were like the youths whom *Cyprian* speaketh of) might reply as [k] *Phædria*; when *Parmeno* did tell him that his gift bestowed on *Thais* would be lost, *Ego quoque vnà pereo, quod mihi est carius, ne istuc tam iniquo patiare animo. There was no more time spent about them* ([l] you say) *then vseth to be spent in sportes, sleepe, talke, and learned releasing of the minde from studie.* It may bee that there was: euen some time that should haue beene spent in hearing Sermons the very day that your *Vlyssis redux* came on the stage. But if a student haunting a dicing house or tauerne with vs, or stewes at *Rome*, should say he spent no more time thereat, then others doe in sportes, sleepe; talke and learned releasing of the minde from studie: were this sufficient proofe that he did not misspend his time? you adde that; *your* [m] *actors can shew greater fruit of their time well spent, that any that is bread vp*

[f] Valer. Maxi. lib. 8 cap. 10.
[g] At grande factum est temporis dispendium; At Mome, non est: Mome mentiris.
[h] Epist. 61. ad Eucherat.
[i] Magister & doctor non erudiendorum sed perdendorum puerorum.
[k] Terent Eu.
[l] Nihil studiis remissum est publicis id fabulis Tempus tributum est quod solet tribui ioco, Somno; colloquiisq; doctoq; otio.
[m] Bene collocati temporis fructum chorus præstare noster, Mome, maiorem potest, quam disciplina quispiam Momi edictus,

by Momusses discipline can. I pray God they may. Sure they shall the better if they be informed that this which you terme the discipline of *Momus*, is not his, but [y] *Cyprians*, who entitled the stage [o] *a stewes of publique shame*; or rather the [n] holy *Ghosts*, Who willeth vs *to abstaine from all appearance of evill*: and that the contrarie, for the loue whereof you would disgrace this, hath too great affinitie with the [a] *strūpets discipline*, mentioned in the *Proverbs*, You demand [p] *whether wee dare despise learned Poëtrie*. No. For S. [b] *Paul* hath sanctified (as [t] *Tertullian* well saith) a verse of *Menander*: and [d] citing other Poets doth shew that there is good vse of them. But S. *Paul* who did not despise *Menanders* comedies could haue deemed it vnmeet for a [u] *Timothie* to play the midwifes part, or *Darus*, or *Dromo*, in [x] his *Andria* or *Parentia*. You aske [y] *Whether wee thinke it a losse to recite Seneca*, Not I: who haue recited sundry of his verses vpon occasion in my Lectures. But it is one thing to recite and an other thing to play: as you may learne by [z] *Iuvenal*, who dispraised not Poets for [a] reciting comedies, yet thought a [b] man ought rather choose to dye then play them: by *Plinie*, who esteemed no (doubt) of stage playing like a *Roman*; yet [b] praied others to recite, or [c] praised thē for doing it, and [d] did it himselfe; by [e] *Scaliger*, who reporteth out of the same *Plinie* that a Latine comedy endited in such sort as the old comedy of the *Greeke* was [f] recited in his time at *Rome*, but not plaied. And if your tragedie had beene recited only as by the [g] title a stranger might conceiue, who knew not that it had beene plaied: surely for mine owne part I would haue accoūted it no more losse of time to haue heard you pronounce it then my selfe to reade it. But it being plaied as [h] *Terences* were: a looser Poet then *Terence* would controll my iudgment and very iustly might, if seeing there is in it a [i] *sweet Melantho, a lewd queane*, I should not thinke there

n De spectac. cap. 5.
o Pudoris publici lupana.
p 1 Thes 5. 22.
q Prov. 7. 21.
r An tu poesin despicere doctam audeas?
s 1. Cor. 15. 33.
t Ad vxorem lib. 1.
u Act. 17. 28. Tit. 1. 12.
x 1 Tim. 4. 12. 2 Tim. 3. 10.
y Terent prolog. Andreæ.
z Senecamne tu recitare iacturam putes?
a Satyr. 1. 8.
b Impunè ergo mihi recitauerit ille togatas?
c Finge tamen gladios inde atq; hinc pulpita pone. Quid satius Morem sic? quisquam exhorruit vt sit Zelotipus Thymeles stupidi collega Corinthi.
d Epist. lib. 2. ep. 10.
e Lib. 1. ep. 13. lib. 3. ep. 15. lib. 16 ep. 15. and 17. l. 9. ep. 2 2.
f Lib. 3. ep. 18. lib. 5 ep. 3. & 13. lib. 7. ep. 17. lib. 8. ep. 21.
g Poetices lib. 1. cap. 7.
h Recitatam, non tamen actam.
i Vlysses redux, tragedia nova, in æde Christi Oxoniæ publicè recitata.

came

came hurt by the playing of it. For you know what [k] *Plautus* saith of his *captiue*, that [l] it would be good for them to heare and see that enterlude plaied, *because it was not made like others, it had no filthy verse, nor periured bawde, nor wicked whoore, nor boasting souldier*. Finally you say that [l] *there is a time for sportes, plaies, dances, a time for earnest studies*: and, *man consisteth not of one part alone; he hath a body as well as a minde*. Time of recreation is necessary, I graunt: and thinke as necessray for schollers that are schollers indeed, I meane, good students, as it is for any. Yet in my opiniō it were not fit for them to play at stooleball among wenches; nor at Mum-chance or Maw with idle loose cōpanions, nor at trunkes in Guile-halls, nor to dance about May-poles, nor to rifle in alehouses, nor to carowse in tavernes, nor to steale deere, nor to rob orchards. Though who can deny but they may doe these things, yea worse; even those S.[n] *Paul* meant by chambering and wantonnesse, and that in the most heinous degree, euen of incest, if your generall speech concerning recreatiō be not better limited? For to goe no farther then your owne *Phœdra*, the same reason serueth her vnto *Hippolitus*: [o] *Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est: Hæc reparat veres, fessaq́, membra levat. Arcus, & arma tua tibi sint imitanda Dianæ: Si nunquam cesses tendere, mollis erit*. Good verses and a holsome lesson: fit for chast *Hippolitus* to thinke of & remember. But as he had learned by the light of nature, that albeit rest and recreation is needfull, yet the thing which *Phœdra* laboured to perswade him vnder pretence of rest & recreation, was execrable: so students are instructed by [p] followers of the same light (to goe no higher for this matter) that all sportes and plaies are not expedient, honest, seemely, some savour of dishonesty. Of which kinde dances are, as the *Gentiles* sawe by the same light also: those dances, that you speake of, if you speake to purpose; not [q] *Davids* dansing, which S. [r] *Ambrose* doth well distinguish from them, but danses of *Penelopes* wooers, of *Melantho*; of other of her maides, and simply all stage-dansing. In so much that the [s] *Romans*, whom *Nero* enforced, if they could doe no other

k Acta ludis Megalensib. tit. Andr. &c. ludis Funebribus, tit. Adelph ludis Romanis, tit. Phorm.

l Dulcis Melantho, &c. act. 3.

m In prologo Captiv.

n Profecto expediet fabulæ huic operam dare.

o Locus suus est jocis, Ludis, choreis, seriis etiam est suus. And, Tu tollis hominem ex homine? tu parte altera constare credis?

n Rom. 13. 13.

o Ovid ep 4.

p Xenophon. κὸ ῥ πάιδ. lib. 1. de dict. & fact. socr. l. 4. Panætius & Tullie after him de off l. 1.

q 2. Sam. 6. 14.

r De pœnit. li. 2. cap. 6.

s Dio Xiphilini epit. in Ner.

* πάντα τὰ θηλυκὰ τοῦ ἰμπλὴξ ὀνόματος.

other ſervice on the ſtage, to dance there at leaſt,* pronounced the dead happy, who by departure out of life had eſcaped that ſhame.

t Iud. 16.25.

The t *Philiſtims* accoũted it a meet diſhonour for their greateſt enimy when they put *Samſon* to it: if yet the playing & ſporting before them, which they put him too, were ſo ignominious. Al ancient lawes almoſt (as a u learned man doth note vpon occaſion of that cõcerning *Sampſon*) yea, & *reaſon it ſelfe doe brande with a marke of diſhoneſty and infamy, thoſe that dance publikely; and perſons of ſuch ſhewes and ſpectacles.* Wherefore the needfulneſſe of a time for ſports, for plaies, for recreation, as well as for ſtudie, doth not proue the lawfulnes of your Theatricall ſportes, and plaies; for the dances mentioned of young mens womanly rai nent; of *Melanthos* kiſſing, of *Phædraes* furious rage; her *Nurſes* and the *Nymphes* baudrie; of wantonneſſe & ſcurrility ſhewed in ſundry ſpeeches, actions and geſtures; of the looſe and beaſtly behauiour of marriners, with the reſt of like quality. Nay, your owne argument that man conſiſteth not of one part alone he hath a minde as well as a body, confuteth all ſuch ſports; becauſe, as recreatiõ is needfull in regard of the body, ſo vertuous recreation in regard of the minde: and vertue more neceſſary much then recreation, by how much the minde is of more excellencie then the body; or rather by how much more profitable it is for minde and body both, ſith he who wanteth x vertue, y is blinde, and, z *godlineſſe hath the promiſe both of the life preſent and of the life to come*, and a *without peace and holineſſe no man ſhall ſee the Lord.*

u Arias Mont. in Iud. ca. 16.

x 2 Pet. 1.5.
y verſe 9.
z 1. Tim. 4.8.
a Heb. 12.14.

Now, theſe things ſtanding thus, what need I ſpend wordes in prouing of the fourth reaſon, namely that the charge of ſetting forth ſuch plaies is mony caſt away, and addeth waſtfulneſſe to wantonneſſe, when your own anſwere doth ſtrengthen it ſufficiently? For in that you ſay b *there is a time of ſparing, a time of honeſt ſpending*, you grant that vnhoneſt expence is ſtill vnlawfull: as you haue cauſe to doe; ſeeing it is of c riot condemned by our Sauiour in the Prodigall ſonne.

b Eſt, vbi parcas, locus ſuus eſt honeſto ſumptui.

c Luk. 15.13.

Wherefore

Wherefore, vnleſſe that vnthrift might haue anſwered Chriſt or any other reprouer, *Thou blameſt mee for waſting but I waſt none of thine; thou maiſt drinke with mee ſcotfree, if thou be a good fellow, and welcome:* I ſee not how [d] your anſwere to *Momus* can be iuſtified, *Thou ſaiſt the chare is great; but thou maieſt come and looke on, Momus, and pay nothing, no man doth aske thee a peny,* And that which he [e] obiecteth, *that it had beene better beſtowed on the poore,* is as weakly met With; in that you reply. [f] *The charge great to him, is meane & moderate to you; none will giue the leſſe to the poore for that, none would haue giuen the more without it.* For [g] *Nero,* being tickled with deſire of praiſe, and louing to heare men approue his playing on the ſtage with clapping of their hands, and crying out, *Excellent, excellent,* did chooſe a luſty band of valiant youths to doe it, whoſe captaines he gaue * three hundred pound a piece, or better. This, if wee conſider [d] the millions he waſted in prodigall gifts, was leſſe charge to him, ſuppoſing it amounted to three thouſand pounde, or foure, or fiue, or more, then three of foure, or fiue, or a few more ſhillings is to ſome of yours. Yet the ſtory noteth it as part of his waſtfulnes: & *Nero* peradventure was either leſſe able or leſſe willing to helpe the poore, by reaſon of that mony giuen for a *Plaudite.* But you tell *Momus* that * *their ſpeech who ſaid,* [e] *what needed this waſt is evill.* An euill ſpeech inded, as [f] *Iudas* and others vſed it, becauſe that *was no waſt,* [g] *it was a good worke* [h] *done for the preparing of Chriſt to his buriall.* But neither is it a good worke or ſeruice vnto Chriſt, to ſpend thirty pound in trimming vp a ſtage and borrowing robes out of the revils, for the feeding of that humour which [i] *Horace* though an *Epicure,* condemned of great * lightneſſe in the people of *Rome:* and [k] *Chryſoſtome,* but what ſpeake I of a Chriſtian Biſhop who may be thought too rigorous; a [l] heatheniſh

d At ſumptus ingens: at tibi gratis licet ſpectare, Mome nemo te ſtipem rogat.

e Huc tantus iſte ſumptus, in paupercu-los magis e-locandus, redit?

f Sumptus eſt ingens tibi; Nobis mediocris: nemo propterea minus ſovebit inopes; abſq; eo nemo magis levabit.

g Sueton in Ner. cap. 20.

* Quadragena milha seſtertium.

d Corn. Tacit. hiſt. lib. 1.

* Ad quid iſta perditio eſt, Here? Mala, Momo; vox eſt.

e Mat. 26 8.

f Ioh. 12 4.

g Mat. 26.

verſe 10. *b* Verſe 2. *i* Epiſtol. lib. 2. Epiſt. 1. * Tanto cum ſtrepitu ludi ſpectantur & artes
Divitiæque peregrinæ, quibus oblitus actor
Quum ſtetit in ſcena, concurrit dextera lævæ.
Dixit adhuc aliquid? Nil ſanè. Quid placet ergo? Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.
k Homil. 56. in Geneſin. *l* Plutarchus Opuſc. Bellóne an ſapientia clariores fuerint. Athen.

Lacedemonia, seeing much cost bestowed on a stage at *Athens*, said *they were much to blame for wasting things of worth on toies*; & [m]*Tullie* with *the learned* (whose iudgment he relieth on) doe giue such expence the note of [*]*prodigality*. The more sorie am I, that you conclude your answere to this and all the former reasons with alleadging [n] the iudgment of our *Vniuersity*: yea, with asking vs, whether *we set nothing by it*. Wherein first you doe the Vniversity wrong, in charging the body therof with allowing that, which some were not present at, because they disallow it, some disallow it who were present: as in part I know by a graue learned man, your good friend & mine, who shewed me his dislike of the representation of amorousnesse & drunkennesse, in *Rivals* both; the former, not in *Rivales* only: in part I coniecture by that I vnderstand that certaine who came thither, came euen prest to it by great importunitie; & as my selfe by such meanes haue beene ouerintreated to doe that sometimes which I repented afterward so I thinke of others, mē subiect to the like passions that I am. Next, you doe vs iniury, who dissent from them that approue and like it, in that you entwite vs as setting nothing by their iudgment: when you should rather thinke, by the rule of charity, that we dissent from them as [n] *Augustin* did from *Cyprian*, whose iudgment notwithstanding he reverenced & made account of. But to them I say, with [o] *Paul*, to the *Philippians*, *If yee be otherwise minded, God shall reveale euen the same to you*, and I assure my selfe they will take in good part, that I preferre before them the iudgment of the Church in so manie councells, what Generall, what Provinciall, of [p] *Constantinople*, [q] *Laodicea*, [r] *Carthage*, [s] *Arles*, and [t] *Aquisgranum*; to pretermit the Fathers, of whom what one is otherwise minded? To your selfe I say farther, that insteed of your question proposed vnto vs, *Academia tu iudicia nihili facis*? I propose you another vpon a [u] surer ground, though in a verse like yours, and God graunt you may thinke religiously, wisely, & fruitfully thereof, *Ecclesiæ tu iudicia nihil facis*?

Thus

[m] De offic. l. 2.
[*] Prodigi dicuntur qui ludorum apparatu pecunias profundunt &c.
[n] Academiæ tu iudicia nihili facis.
[n] De baptism. contr. donat. lib. 2. cap. 5. cont. Crescen. grammat. lib. 2. cap. 32.
[o] Phil. 3. 15.
[p] Sext. Synod. in Trull. can. 62.
[q] Concilii Laodicen. Can. 54. De consecrat. Dist. 5. c. Non oportet.
[r] Concil. Carthag. tertium can. 11. septimum can. 2. c. Definimus. §. Omnes. 4. q. 1.
[s] Concil. Arelat. Secund. can. 20.
[t] Conc. Aquisgran. sub. Ludov. Pio. cap 83.
[u] 1 Cor. 11. 16.

Thus haue I ſhewed you what moveth me to thinke that the truth belongeth rather to the reaſons fathered vpon *Momus*, then to your anſweres: Which I have ſtrained my ſelfe to doe the ſooner amidſt my great buſineſſe, that as you were deſirous by a common friend of ours to ſatisfie me, with proteſtation of your hearty affection and good will: ſo you might perceiue I am as carefull to approue my iudgment vnto you, my good will at leaſt, if you ſhall notwithſtanding miſlike of my iudgment. [d] And if you will ſignify to me what you miſlike in any of the points, which I haue ſtood vpon, or touched by occaſion; you ſhall finde me as willing to learne, by Gods grace, as I am ready to teach, according to Saint [x] *Baſils* counſell. For as the loue I beare to you, and to others, enforceth me the [y] later, not to conceale through envy any thing I know; ſo the loue I beare to GOD and his truth, perſwadeth me the [z] former, not to be a ſhamed to learne that I know not. The Lord fill our hearts with his holy Spirit, and haue vs in his gratious protection for euer. At *Queenes Colledge. Iul.* 10. 1592.

x Epiſt. 1. ad Grego. Naz.

y διδάσκειν, ἀνεπιφθονῶς.

z μανθάνειν ἀνεπαισχυντῶς.

Yours in the Lord

Iohn Rainolds.

Vnto this Master D. *Gager* replying and desiring Master *Rainolds* to forbeare, Master *Rainolds* did reioine as followeth.

YOVR request, Master D. *Gager*, that I should forbeare farther reply in writing, and by word of mouth in private conference informe you, if you haue greatly erred in any part of your answere; brought into my minde [a] the *Philosophers* censuring and checking of such as *offered sacrifice for health, and at their very sacrifizing did banket riotously against health.* For that which I wrote concerning things, the stage-plaies, you draw vnto the persons, who played on the stage at *Christ church*, as if I went about to make the and your house most villanously infamous: & partly by concealing, partly by perverting the drift & substance of my speeches, you seeke to smother vp and suppresse the truth. Which being done in writing by you with care and diligence, not to be imparted vnto me alone, but to others also, as your selfe doe signifie: if I should note the fault thereof by word of mouth, my plaister would bee lesse a great deale then the wound, and therefore never reach to heale it: for words haue wings, and flie away, mens writings doe remaine. But as farre as possibly I may without neglect of the dutie I owe to GOD & to his Church, I yeeld to your request: that is, I will endeavour to make plaine vnto you the iniuries and wrongs that your answer doth me, as briefly as the necessary clearing of the truth, and scattering of the mists whereby you goe about to darken it, will permit.

[a] Diog. Laert. in Diogene.

The point that is in question betweene vs touching stage-

plaies, was generally moued: to wit, whether such as play them doe offend, or such as reproue the playing of them. You vndertooke to shew that the reprouers are faultie: I, that the Players. And least the dissention of opinions herein should breed exulceration of mindes betweene vs, if that which either of vs said touching the matter, should bee taken odiously as meant against the persons whom it might concerne: you, with protestation of your good will to me-ward, desired mee not to thinke that you meant to note me by the name of *Momus*; I praied you the like with like protestation in respect of your players; & that with greater reason why you should haue yeelded to it in my opinion, sith neither one of their names, *Phemius* for example sake, doth signifie a lewd plaier, as *Momus* doth an vniust reprouer; neither did I knowe who plaied that part and others, as you knew my mislike of plaies. Now, I condescend to your desire most gladly: your selfe acknowledge it, and hartily thanke me for it. I would to God I might haue likewise thanked you: whereof you haue giuen me so little cause, so great cause to the contrary, that I must needs complaine you haue forgotten the lesson which a [b] heathen Emperour had learned of *Iewes* or *Christians*, & marueilously loued it, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*. For whereas you had said that stage-plaiers were not counted infamous by the ciuill law, but onely such as plaied for gaine; and I, to refute this, declared that the *Romans*, whose iudgement and custome doth best interpret their owne law, counted *Nero* infamous for playing, though freely; which, least you perhaps through ambiguitie of a [c] word, should except against, that it was not stage-playing of Mens and Womens parts, I opened it by the examples of your *Hippodamia*, *Eurymachus*, and *Phemius*: you reply hereon, that this is my arguing; *Many noble men, and Nero himselfe were infamous for playing, though freely, mens and womens parts, and specially Nero for singing like a fidler on the stage; Ergo, schollers and the students of Christ-church are to be noted with a marke of infamie, for playing, though* gratis, *such parts as they did in Vlysse reduce; and namely the Master of our Choristers for playing Phemius; notwithstanding for his hone-*

[b] Alexander Severus, apud Lampridium.

[c] The word cantavit, vsed by Iuv. Sat. 8.

honestie, modestie, & good voice, he is as worthie to be delivered from infamie, as Phemius himselfe is fained to bee saued from death, for his excellent skill in Musicke, to say nothing of the rest. And not content to wrest mine argument from my drift, and racke it to my sentence from the *Civill law*, to *Christ-church* plaiers from the *Roman*, you shut vp your tale with this morall: *I dare not denie this argument, because it is yours: I referre it to the charitable iudgement of my betters.* [c] *Hast thou appealed to Cæsar? to Cæsar shalt thou goe,* quoth *Festus.* Even so am I contented, good Sir, that our betters doe iudge of mine argument, and your charitable vsige of it. To the which intent I beseech you hartily that, with the next play you publish, you will set forth my letters, and your answere to them. In the meane season, I thinke, that when omitting the force of mine argument against your distinction of playing for gaine, & freely, you drew in the mention of the Master of your Choristers, his honestie, his modestie, his good voice, his Musicke, and of the rest of the Schollers & students of *Christ-church*: your purpose was to shew a peece of that art, that *Servius Galba* did. Who being indited of a [d] great offence, whereof hee could not cleere himselfe, and therefore [e] slipping from it, commended to the iudges both his owne children, and the child of his kinsman, a most worthie citizen, that, being lately dead, had left him guardian to his childe: so to saue himselfe by the peoples mercie and commiseration of the boyes, which hee could not haue done by the desert of the cause and his owne innocency. For if the good qualities of the Master of your Choristers, or of your Schollers and Students, doe proue that the *Romans* counted it no infamie for such to be stage-plaiers, howsoeuer they counted it for *Nero*: then [f] *Tully* spake absurdly, when hee said that *Roscius both for his skill in playing seemed alone worthie to come vpon the stage, and for his* [g] *vertue and honestie, seemed alone worthie not to come vpon it.* And how can the charitable iudgement of your betters; nay, how can your owne, charge me as offending for letting downe that of the *Romans*, which by consequent toucheth the Master of your Choristers credit, & others of *Christ-church*, where your selfe acknowledge, that your

[c] Act. 25. 12.

[d] Vel. Max. l. 9. c. 6. Sueton. in Gal. cap. 3. Oros. lib. 4. c. 21.

[e] Cic. in Bruto Liv. l. 49. epit. Val. Max. lib. 8 cap. 1.

[f] Orat. pro P. Quintio.

[g] Vir ejusmodi est. The sense of which words he openeth in his oration pro Q. Roscio comœdo, saying thus of Roscius: Quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam Histrionem esse arbitratur; qui ita dignissimus est scena propter artificium, vt dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam,

your inuectiue against *Momus*, doth consequently fall on me, on the Preacher, on whosoeuer else reproue plaies, and yet you may haue written it without offence, you trust?

But in this matter your fault is the lesse, because you had some colour thereof by mine exemplifying in three of your plaiers: nor did the *Romans* alwaies count them so infamous but that the best of them were sometime well esteemed of, as *Tullies* great acquaintance with *Roscius* and *Æsopus* argueth. In the next you doe me so much the greater iniurie, by how much both the turpitude & villanie is greater wherewith you beare your Students in hand that I charge them: and I was farther off from giving cause to be so dealt with, hauing refrained purposely from naming any of yours in opening of the point. For being to proue that the prohibition of men to put on womens raiment (*in Deuteronomie*) belongeth to the morall law, and thereupon declaring how it is referred by learned Divines, to the commandement, *Thou shalt not commit adulterie*: I say that they had reason to referre it so, because, among the kindes of adulterous lewdnesse, mens naturall corruption and vitiousnesse is prone to monstrous sinne against nature, as the Scripture witnesseth in *Cananites*, *Iewes*, *Corinthians*, other in other nations, one with speciall caution, *Nimium est quod intelligitur*; and the putting of womens attire vpon men, may kindle great sparkles of lust thereunto in vncleane affections, as *Nero* shewed in *Sporus*, *Heliogabalus* in himselfe; yea certaine, who grew not to such excesse of impudencie, yet arguing the same in causing their boies to weare long haire like women. This, in your examining the sense of *Moses* words, whereunto I vsed it, you passe over wholly; without mention of the iudgment of the learned Divines, or of my reason given for it. But in the point following, where I handled other inconveniences and discommodities of plaies, with speciall applying thereof vnto yours: *We pray you Sir* (say you) *to make a great difference betweene vs and Nero with his Sporus*, or *Heliogabalus with himselfe*, or *the Cananites*, *Iewes*, *Corinthians*, or *them that cause their Pages to weare long haire like women*, or *any such dogges: we hartily abhorre them. You say out of Quintilian*,

§ Macrob. Saturn. lib. 3. c. 14

an. Nimium est quod intelligitur: *and I may say*, Nimium est quod dicitur. *We thanke God, our youth doe not practise such things, they thinke not of thē, they know them not: neither can any mā living the rather for our plaies charge any one of vs with the least suspition of any such abomination. I haue beene often moved by our plaies to laughter, and sometime to teares: but I can not accuse either my selfe, or any other, of any such beastly thought stirred vp by them. And therefore wee should most vncharitably bee wronged, if our putting on of womanly raiment, should either directly or indirectly be referred to the commandement, Thou shalt not commit adulterie.* All these are your owne words. In which that you may see, what your dealing is, behold a patterne of it. There was a certaine Preacher, who catechising his hearers in the principles of faith, and deliuering to them [h] Christs exposition of the law, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*; told them that the very looking vpon women, whereby men are occasioned to thinke or lust vnchastly, is a breach thereof. He proved it by the examples of [i] *Putiphars* wife, *who cast her eies on Ioseph*, and fell in loue with him; of [k] *Iob*, who therefore *made a covenant with his eies, least hee should think vpon a maid*; of [l] *David, who looking on Bathsheba* from his house toppe, did lust incontinently after her. And because the parties, whom he taught, were schollers, well read in forraigne writers, he added how the learned heathēs had declared that [m] *loue doth enter in by the eyes; faire persons seene, haue made men mad*; and in them also is that verified, [o] *Vritq́; videndo Fœmina*; as [p] *Xenophon* recordeth *Cyrus* to haue noted; and [q] *Propertius* found by triall in himselfe. Now, among the company to which the Preacher spake, one, not evill minded, yet louing good fellowship, & a more remisse, or welnigh loose kinde of liuing, fearing least by the credit & force of this doctrine, certaine of his friends whom he had made acquainted with beautifull wiues, or handsome maides, should growe into suspition of wantonnesse & lightnes, rose vp & said vnto the Preacher; *Wee pray you Sir, to make a great difference betweene vs, and them whom* Cyrus *speaketh of, or* Propertius *himselfe, or* Putiphars *wife*, Iob, David, *or such as let their eie bee*

h Mat. 5. 28.
i Gen. 39. 7.
k Iob. 31. 1.
l 2. Sam. 11. 2.
m Plato in Cratylo Xenophon de dict. & fact. Socr. lib. 1.
n Theo. εἰδύλλ.
2 Musæus in Hær. & Lean. Virg. ecl 8.
o Virg. Geor. lib 3.
p Κυρ. παιδ. l 5
q Lib. 3. eleg. 19.

porters vnto loue, and dote by seeing faire persons, we heartely mislike them. You say out of Virgil, Vritq; videndo Fœmina; & I may say, Vritq; loquendo Masculus. Wee thanke God, our youth doe not practise such things, they thinke not of them, they knowe them not: neither can any man liuing, the rather for our looking on handsome maides, or beautifull wiues, charge any one of vs with the least suspition of any such vncleannes. I haue beene delighted often with their sight, and sometime moued to pitty: but I cannot accuse either my selfe, or any other of any such wicked thought stirred vp thereby. And therefore we should most vncharitably be wronged, if the casting of our eies on wiues, or on maides should either directly or indirectly be referred to the commandement, Thou shalt not commit adultery. What thinke you of this man, Master D. *Gager*? Did he not the Preacher wrong? Certainely, if you haue the spirit wherewith [r] *David* answered *Nathans* parable, you will confesse, he did. And what ensueth, you see: I need not adde, *You are the man.* But this I must adde, that the wrong you doe me is so much more palpable, then was this carpers of the Preacher, because I said, that *the putting of womens attire vpon men, may kindle sparkes of lust in vncleane affections*: I said not, in all mens affections, but in some; not in sanctified, but in vncleane. What? And doe you grant, that you, and your youth, haue vncleane affections, to the intent you may blame my speech? If not, why tell you me, that the putting of womanly raiment vpon men, haue not stirred any such beastly thought in any of you; whē I spake expresly of vncleane affections? Besides, can you accuse your selfe, or any other, of any wanton thought stirred vp in you by looking on a beautifull Woman? If you can; then ought you beware of beautiful boyes transformed into womē by putting on their raiment, their feature, lookes and fashions. For men may be rauished with loue of stones, of dead stuffe, framed by cunning grauers to beautifull womens likenes, as, in [s] Poets fables appeareth by *Pygmalion*, by [t] *Venus Gnidia* in stories: and [u] *Cherea*, araied like an *Eunuch* only, did moue the beastly lust of him who was lasciviously given in the Comedie. If you cannot: then doe you both me, your selfe and others, iniury in con-

r 2. Sam. 12. 5.

[s] Ovid. Met. lib. 10.
[t] Plin. hist. nat. lib 7 cap 38 & lib 36. cap. 5
[u] Terent. Eun. act. 3, scen. 2.

concluding, *that therefore you should most vncharitably be wrõged, if your putting on of Womanly raiment, should either directly or indirectly be referred to the commandement, Thou shalt not commit adultery.* For my speech was generall, that the cladding of youthes, in such attire is an occasion of drawing and provoking corruptly minded men to most heinous wickednesse, and therefore should be wisely cut off by the faithfull: as if, in a Sermon to the Vniversitie, expounding that of *Iob*, [x] *I made a covenant with mine eies*, I should tell the Students, that though he name a *maid*, wee must extend the lesson farther; by [y] the mans example, whom a worthie governour, in [*] other words to like effect, admonished of making a covenant with his eies, for saying; *O puerum pulchrum Pericle*. Wherevpon if any should tell his acquaintance of this, or that College, Tutor, or other, accustomed to cast his eies on such children as God had adorned with comelinesse of body, that I went about to make them suspected of most horrible lewdnes, he should doe both them and me notorious iniurie. Albeit, as our Saviour, saying to his Disciples, [z] *Take heed what you heare*, did purpose to stirre them vp to marke diligently that which he deliuered, & faithfully to performe it; yet condemned thẽ not as wretchles or vnfruitfull hearers of his word: so I would acknowledge that in saying likewise, *Take heed what you see*, my meaning were to stirre vp both Tutors, and all other, to carry themselues chastly, even in their lookes also, least death come in by their windowes, though I meane no more to make them suspected by this admonition, then I doe my selfe. Which if you who touch me so bitterly, and often, for doing you or yours vncharitable wrong, had charitably marked: I should haue lesse cause of wishing you to play the [*] Physitian better, & first to heale your selfe.

This I say not only of my generall speeches set vpon the racke to make me odious to your Students: but of the particular too, that may be thought to concerne them specially. As namely that I mentioned *Eurymachus kissing of Melantho*: a thing which I gathered to haue bin done by [*] her own words: sith they were both intended to be alone secretly, when he had

x Iob. 31. 1.

y Sophoc. Cic. de offic. lib 1. Val. Max. lib. 4 cap. 6

* Prætori non solùm manus à pecuniæ lucro, sed etiam oculos à libidinoso aspectu continentes esse debere Val Max.

z Mar. 4. 24.

* ἄλλον ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἕλκεσι θρύων. Gregor. Naz. apolog. fugæ suæ.

* Furtiva nullus oscula Eurymachus dabit. Act. 5.

foule vnmodeſt, laſcivious talke with her; and the muſick & dancing, whereof ſhe ſpeakes withall, was repreſented on the ſtage. But I named them only for examples ſake; my drift being generall againſt ſuch plaies as expreſſe ſuch actions: whether ſet forth preſently by you, as your *Rivales*, in which ſome of the wooers perhaps kiſſed *Phœdra*; or heretofore, as that of *Plautus*, in which *Phadromus* kiſſed *Planeſium*, without perhaps. Wherefore ſith you defend your former plaies as well as theſe, and in that reſpect commend by name *Plautus*, as you have great reaſon, comparing any Comedie of his with your *Rivales*: what aimed you at in ſaying, that, *for the danger of kiſſing beautifull boyes you know not howe the ſuſpition ſhould reach vnto you, becauſe it is vntrue that Eurymachus kiſſed Melantho*; vnleſſe your meaning were to practiſe that malice (ſo learned men doe iuſtly tearme it) of *rhetorick*, I meane, by reſtraining my generall intent vnto your preſent plaiers, to draw me into their hatred? Elſe, when you *enquired of the parties themſelues, whether any ſuch action were vſed by them, and they* (you ſay) *denied it conſtantly*: why did you not enquire alſo of *Plautus*, whether it were vſed by *Phadromus* & *Planeſiũ*, & of the ancients of your houſe, whether *Phœdromus* and *Planeſium* came ever on your ſtage? Sure you ſhould haue take this courſe by the equitie of that which ſeemeth reaſonable to you in your own cauſe. For, ſpying by mine anſwer, that your example of *Achilles* wearing womans raiment, did not ſerue your turne: you reply, that *wee may imagine ſuch a one as will ſerue it, with change of a circumſtance*. And this in your defence muſt goe for ſufficient. But the caſe is altered, when it toucheth me: yea, although my purpoſe may be proved by true, not by imagined examples. So indulgent commonly are men vnto themſelues: ſo rigorous vnto others.

Howbeit, I ſhould not complaine of this rigour, but for the taile of it, and the ſting of breeding evill will among brethren, which doth lurke therein. The venome and poiſon whereof goeth about to ſpred it ſelfe abroad through more parts of your body, then *Phœnius*, *Eurymachus*, and the plaiers of women; by meanes that you likewiſe inſtill the ſame humour, at leaſt

*Pulcherrima Melantho, quid effari queam? Nemo ſeveram juvenibus legem ferat, &c. Act. 3.

* Ad ſtrepitũ lyræ Non læta ſalies. Act. 5 a Plauti curculio.

* Act. 1.

b Ariſtot. lib. 1 rhet. cap. 1. Vives de tradend. diſci. plin. lib. 4.

leaſt ſeeke to inſtill it as much as in you lieth, into the reſt of all your plaiers, their teachers and inſtructors, and in concluſion your whole houſe. For whereas the third branch of our reaſons ſet downe by you in *Momus* his name againſt plaies, had avouched not only their time to be miſſpent who were emploied therein, but ſome of their perſons, their mindes corrupted alſo; and I, to ſhew how cunningly you, encountring this propoſed the loſſe of time alone and not of men, did declare that *Cyprian* writing of a ſtage-plaier, who made boies effeminate by inſtructing them how to play the woman, and to expreſſe and counterfeit vnhoneſt wanton geſtures, ſaith, *he was a maiſter not of teaching but ſpilling children*; and thereof did inferre, that the loſſe of time ſhould not haue bin obiected ſo much againſt your plaies, ſeeing ſome of the plaiers (if they were like the youths whom *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of) might replie as *Phædria*, when *Parmeno* did tell him that his gift beſtowed on *Thais* would be loſt, *Ego quoq; vxà pereo, quod mihi eſt carius; ne iſtuc tam iniquo patiare animo:* behold, with how charitable applying of my words you come in thus vpon me, *The ſaying of Saint Cyprian againſt a ſtage-plaier, or of Phædria of himſelfe to Parmeno, cannot be iuſtly vſed againſt vs. For he ſhould doe vs great contumely, that ſhould thinke, or ſay, that either we are maſters not of teaching but ſpilling children; or that both time of our young men were caſt away altogether by thoſe exerciſes.* And to make a deeper impreſſion in your young men that I doe them this contumely, with an other alſo brought for proofe hereof: you goe forward thus: *But it is no marvaile that you imply ſo ill a conceit of them if you doubt that, as I anſwered Momus, our actors can ſhew greater fruit of their time well ſpent, then any that is bread vp by Momuſſes diſcipline can. For you pray God that they may: as doubting it is not ſo.* Wherein, firſt and formoſt, if your conſcience tell you that your ſelfe (for whom elſe you aſſociate to you by *we are Maſters*, I know not) are touched in Saint Cyprians reproofe of the ſtage-plaier: I can no way helpe it, ſaue with that of Scripture, c *If your heart condemne you, God is greater then your heart, and knoweth all things.* But whether I might not

c 1 Ioh. 3. 20.

alleadge Saint Cyprians words, to shew that somewhat more then time is cast away and spilt by such stage-plaies as make boies effeminate: let our betters iudge. Who, I trust, will not condemne the poore swallowes for chattering and vsing their voice, agreeable to nature, because [d] *Bessus* surmised they cried against him that he had killed his father. Next, in that you charge me with insinuating of your young men, that *both time and themselues are cast away altogether by those exercises*, and adde, *it is no marvaile that I imply so ill a conceit of them*: truly, it is marvaile, that you, professing so much good will to mee as you doe, should in so few words vse so maine tricks of calumniation to breed a misliking of me in your yong men. One, by making me to speake of them at large, and indefinitly: whereas I noted only such as plaid the Woman, and of them such only, as were taught to counterfeit vnhonest wanton gestures, that is, as plaid vnchast women. An other, by adioyning the particle [e] *Altogether*, as if I had iudged them dead, dead, past all recouery: whereas the [f] termes I vsed imported that they were in spilling, not spilt, much lesse spilt altogether, but like [g] *the things in Sardis which were ready to dye*. A third, by suppressing the meanes of their spilling, to wit, *the making of them effeminate*, which I specified; and by setting downe a word of more honest and common signification in steed thereof, to witte, [g] *exercises* as who say that peremptory sentence had beene giuen of all, euen them who plaied mens parts, yea the best mens; where I censured only the filth of playing wanton queanes so with *Cyprian*. A fourth, by rehearsing it as absolutely pronounced: where I with a [h] condition restraining the sentence, did manifestly shew that I affirmed it not, except they tooke like harme with those whom *Cyprian* speaketh of; and therefore drew my speech from your speciall plaiers to the generall question. A fifth, by making proofe thereof, as good and sound, as the thing proved; in saying, *It is no marvaile that I imply so ill a conceit of them, if I doubt that your actors can shew greater fruit of their time well spent then any that is bread vp by Momusses discipline can*: and yeelding this reason to perswade the young men *that I doubt it is not so*, because

[d] Plutarch de lenta numinis vindicta.

[e] Cast away altogether.

[f] Spilling, in S. Cyprans. words, & Pereo, in Phædrus, Ego quoq; vna pereo.

[g] Revel. 3. 2. By those exercises.

[h] If they were like the youths whom Cyprian speaketh of.

because I pray God that they may. Which reason if it hold: then our Oxford Preachers haue a bad opinion of the *Vice-chancelour, the Doctors, the Proctors, the heads of houses:* for they are wont to pray that wee may be good; & therefore by your inference they doubt we are not so. And will not your *Christ-church* Preachers be discredited hereby with your Students, as much as I am: seeing they pray commonly as well for the Students, as for the *Deane and Prebendaries?* Question-lesse your selfe would thinke: he did you iniurie, who should say you beleeue not an article of your faith, *the forgiuenesse of sinnes.* Yet you are accustomed to pray, [f] *Forgiue vs our sinnes,* when notwithstanding [g] he that doubteth, faileth in beleefe. And for mine owne part, if to one cõmending the *French most Christian King,* that he can looke wisely enough to his owne safety against both open force, & secret fraud of the leaguers, I should answere (in like sorte as I did to you) *I pray God he may; sure he shall the better if he neuer trust them, nor any of that brood of the whore of Babylon:* I would be vnderstood, both hartily to wish, and reasonably to hope, that hee shall meetly well be able to doe it; although the more able, if hee vse this cautiõ. Or, if some presupmtions moved you to dowbt whether I meant thus, or worse: you should haue remembred the [h] rules of your law for * *gentle construing of things doubtfull.* But suppose that I had euen denyed also, not only doubted, that *your actors can shew greater fruit of their time well spent then any that is bread up by Momusses discipline can:* is it therefore likely that *I imply so ill a conceit of them as that they are altogether cast away?* Yea, you say. And why? Because *they could doe little, if they could not doe so much, and a great deale more, and better, whensoeuer they shall be tried. For what is the discipline of Momus, but the schoole of carping, nipping, depraving, and reprehending of every good thing?* Wherevpon you adde, to amplifie the strange iniquity of my dealing, that *of all other things you thought I would not, or could not haue taken any exception to that speech of yours.* In deed if I had taken the discipline of *Momus* in that sense you giue it; your so ill collection of my so ill conceit should haue some probability. But I had

f Luke. 11. 4.
g Mat. 14. 31. Iam. 1. 6.

h L. 56. I. 190. par. fin D. de regulis juris.
* Semper in dubiis benigniora Prefe-renda sunt: & In re dubia benigniorem interpretationē sequi, non minus iustius est quam tutius.

had declared that by the name of *Momus* you noted all reproouers of plaies. And how soeuer that be, whereof more hereafter: doubt lesse I meant schollers trained vp by such vngodlinesse and good learning, when I prayd that *your actors might shew greater fruit of their time well spent, then any that is bread vp by Momusses discipline can.* Which is plaine and euident by the words following, in that I affirme, that *this which you tearme the discipline of Momus, is not his but Cyprians, or rather the holy Ghosts.* For God forbid that you should proceed from euill to worse in such excesse of slandering, as to tell your actors, that I say *the discipline of the holy Ghost is the schoole of carping, nipping, depraying, & reprehending of euery good thing.* Now, though my cõceit of them be so good, that I am perswaded or rather know in part, they can shew great fruit of their time well spent, and haue in truth done it: yet I know withall some of so great towardnes brought vp by the other, that, if all your actors think they can shew greater fruit thẽ any of these, they will make me thinke their good conceit of themselues is worse then mine ill. And see of how different opinions you & I are about this matter. I know sundry schollers of rare expectatiõ & hope in other Colledges, for whõ my prayer is they may shew as great fruit of their time well spent as some of these cã: and yet in my iudgment I haue no ill conceit of them. You. vnlesse I thinke that your Christ-church actors can shew much greater fruit, doe iudge, and giue sentence, that my conceit of them is ill: so ill, beyond all huy and cry, that it is a token I imply in couert speech (expounded charitably) that they are cast away, yea, cast away altogether, and irrecouerably lost.

Lesser is the wrong, yet a wrong also, that of your actors likewise you say, *they are condemned by me to hatefull infamy, a thing to all honest mindes more intollerable then death it selfe:* and farther, that *your house, your selfe, and many honest towardly young men, your friends, whom for good causes you hartely loue, are charged with open infamy.* It may be the circumstance noted herewithall, in that you adde *it grieueth you and them not a little, that they should in private, but much more in publike, be charged with such infamy:* hath reference to the Sermon rather

ther which was preached in the publique audience of the vniuersity, then to letters written in private vnto you. Howbeit, whethersoeuer of vs it toucheth more, your cõplaint is somewhat partiall to your selfe: who take in euill part, that wee by word or writing should teach or maintain ought wherof there may grow infamy by consequent to you; yet would haue vs take it well and patiently, that you haue set forth and published that in print, whereof there may grow infamy by consequent to vs. But the wrong I meant you doe me in those clauses of your accusation, concerneth both the matter of crime, and the persons: the matter, for aggravating the quality of the note of infamy, which they are charged with, by terming it *hatefull, open, more intollerable to all honest mindes then death it selfe*: the persons, for extending it from a few members to the whole body, from the plaiers to your house. Concerning the latter (to begin with it) beside that you say that *in answering my writing you defend your house*, not only the particular plaiers, *from infamy*: you adde that *they are charged therewith to the generall reproach of your house, if so hard a censure should be by men of note enforced and perswaded*. And why should you more interpret our action to the generall reproach of your house, because we reproued that by word or writing which some of *Christ-church* had practised: then we interpret yours to the generall reproach of our house, because you defended that by printed treatise, which some of *Queenes colledge* had reprooued? If the reason bee, for that wee are men of note who worke the discrediting of you: they are men of note too, whose verses you hauing prefixed before your book, doe cõtenance your disgrace of vs. Neither doe I see what reason else you bring, or can, but that wee shall meet you in the same (speake of consent, or what you list) to wring out of the special reproach of your plaiers the generall of your house. As for the former concerning the infamy, the quality whereof not content to amplifie with termes that may be common to all infamie in a sort, you name it *more intollerable to all honest mindes then death it selfe*: whether doe you meane the infamy they are charged with by the *Ciuill law*, in the first reason; or that

which lighteth on them by the law of God, in the reasons following? If by the ciuill law: then belike a chast and honestly minded woman, who hauing lost her husband doth marry within twelue month afters his decease, had rather shee were dead: and her father likewise, who placeth her so in marriage, had rather he were dead with her. For both these are noted with infamy by the [i] ciuill law: & that in such degree, as may be more intollerable and grievous vnto them, for ought that I said, then vnto your plaiers. If by the law of God: doe you not know that [k] infamy being opposite to [l] good fame, & nothing being counted of [l] good fame, [m] *praiseworthy*, but that which is *honest, just, pure, vertuous*; every fault hath infamy, annexed thereunto; not every fault a little degree & height of infamy, but euery fault infamy? Doe you not thinke that all your plaiers haue some fault: and account the shame thereof to be more tollerable a great deale, then death? Doe you not confesse (though tempering it with saying *it may be so perhaps*) that they haue *in their playing picked out as it were quailes eyes of a wantonnesse, and offended in some small matter*? What needed then your tragicall exaggeration of *hatefull open infamy, more intollerable to all honest mindes then death it selfe*: when all that I enforced against them was but infamy? Whom sought you to make hatefull by that pathetical speech, tending to compassion of *Vlysses* in shew, to somewhat else indeede: *Vnhappy Vlysses, to whom as it was fatall euer to be in trouble in his life, so is he more hardly dealt withall after his death, that his person may not honestly be resembled without note of infamy to the actor*? How skilfull an inveigling is this of your plaiers, to thinke themselues defamed most odiously for euer, when he who plaied *Vlysses* part, one of the best, and therefore least, of all touched with that note; is said to be so touched with it, that all the troubles of *Vlysses* are nothing to his shame? Nay the shame inflicted on him who plaied *Vlysses*, is such a vexation to *Vlysses himselfe*. that he is more hardly dealt withall herein (poore soule) after his death, then while in his lifetime [k] his sweete wine was drunke, his men were eaten vp, two at a meale, by *Polyphemus*; himselfe escaped hardly through *Polyphemus*.

[i] L. 1. D. de his qui notantur infam. ia. L. 1. & 2. C. de secundis nuptiis.

[l] Εὐφημία ἀτιμία.

[m] Εὐφημία ἐπαινος. 2 Cor. 6.8. Ἐπαινος ἀρετῆς. Mirus Iranus. Phil. 4.8.

[k] Homer. Odyss. lib. 9.

phemus rammes helpe out of his clouches, not without great feare, I know, when *Polyphmus* talked with the ramme; and beside the danger to be sunke and drowned by the top of a mountaine that *Polyphemus* hurled at him,[l] he was tossed in the sea, vpon broken peeces of his shippe, being wracked, ten nights and nine daies, saue one wherein he stucke fast to a wild figtree growing in *Charibdis*; whereof, and of a great deale more[m] such woe, he tasted, by[n] his mens vnhappy letting out of the windes, which *Æolus* had giuen him bound vp in a leathern bagge or satchell.

[l] Lib. 12.
[m] Lib. 5.
[n] Lib. 10.

To make an end of this point, I am to request your Students and your house; because you constraine me (that I may vse the [o] *Prophets* phrase) *to restore that which I tooke not away*, that they will cõsider how the note of infamy, which I did enforce, I enforced it against the parts played by *Histrio*, not against the Christ-church parties who plaied them; against *Roscius* & *Æsopus*, not against the Maister of your Choristers, I meane against plaiers, not against those plaiers: as [p] *Tullie* saith of *Piso*, that when the [q] *Romans* gaue him the office of the *Ædileship, they gaue it to Piso, not to this Piso*; meaning that in committing such place of honour to him they respected the dignitie of his name & stocke, not the qualities of his person. For as this *Piso*, the particular man; was lewd, base, dishonourable; yet *Piso*, the kinred it selfe, whereof he came, was honourable and renowned: semblably may plaiers, the generall that I spake of, be esteemed infamous; and yet the same infamie as small as it is in comparison of the capitall markes you fasten on it, be lesse or none at all in the speciall persons of your house, of those plaiers. Which, if it be lawfull for me to compare lesser things with greater (as I, by the example of [q] our Sauiour parables alwaies thought I might, & neuer heard them called *incomparable comparisons* till you controlled mee with this taunt and the like for vsing them) I shall make plaine vnto you by the cleere euidence & light of both those laws, whence they are charged. For[r] wicked persons are infamous; [s] idolaters are wicked; they, that offer incense, as [t] *Paynims* did, are idolaters. [u] Certaine Christian souldiers, not knowing what such

[o] Psal. 69. 4.
[p] Ora. in Pis. Ædilis ea factus. Piso est a populo Rom. factus, non esse Piso.
[q] Mat. 13. 3. Mar. 12. 1. Luke 14. 21. and so forth in the Euangelistes commonly.
[r] Rom. 1. 26. κακὰ πάθη.
[s] 1 Pet. 4. 3.
[t] 1 Cor. 10. 21. L. 7. c de. paganis & sacrificiis.
[u] Theodoret. hist eccles li. 3. c. 15. & 16. Zozom. lib. 5. cap. 16.

such offering of incense did import, were by the convaiance of *Iulian* the *Apostata* brought to offer it. Who when they were afterward informed, what they had done, returned backe to *Iulian*, professing and protesting themselues to be Christians, persisting in the faith, and praying they might dye for it. Were these infamous for that fact? No: because *their hand did offend through ignorance* (saith the [x] *Ecclesiasticall history*) *their minde was pure and guiltlesse*. And although their ignorance of the law was faulty, the mother of their error: yet [z] mans constitutions bearing with souldiers that way, and [a] God forgiuing his seruants greater ouersights, who dare condemne them for their fall? Those monsters of nature which [b] *burning in their lust one toward another, men with men worke filthinesse*, are as infamous, as [c] *Sodome*: not the doers only, but the [d] sufferers only.

A [e] young Italian gentleman named, *Cosmus Cherius*, had that horrible villany wrought through force vpon him by *Petrus Aloisius Pope Paul the thirds sonne*. Was he infamous for his suffering? No more then [f] *Lucretia* for violence done by *Tarquin*, howsoeuer he died for sorrow and shame of it: the law of [i] God and [h] man both will acquit him. In a word, [i] all impious and vnhoneſt wretches, namely the vnrighteous, fornicatours, adulterous, theeues, covetous, drunkards, railers, extortioners, are infamous. The [k] *Corinthians* had beene such, but they repented. Were they infamous for their vices? A [l] naturall man migh sticke hereat in [*] some part: but Saint *Paul* denieth it. For [m] he saith, *they were sanctified, holy, washed, iustifie*: and such as are cleansed from the filth of sinne, are cleansed from the blemish & reproach thereof; no iust and holy man is infamous. In the like sort therefore may a note of infamy remaine vpon plaiers: and yet be remoued as farre from your plaiers, as is the East from the West. For what if some of them knew not this point of law; and were of such [l] age too (which they were all perhaps; at least the plaiers of womens parts) as the [n] law excuseth for ignorance thereof; What if others were

x Theodor. & Zozomen in the places quoted. Cassiodor. in the Tripati. lib 6. cap. 30. Nicephorus lib. 10. cap. 33. and others after them.
y Luk. 12 48.
z L. 9 D. de iuris & facti ignorantia L. 12. c. eod.
a L. 9 D. de iur. & fact. ignor. Parag. Si filius familias l. 1. ca. eod.
a 1 Tim. 1. 13.
b Rom. 1. 27.
c Gen. 18. 20.
d 1. Cor. 6. 9.
e Sleidã li. 19.
f Liui. lib. 1.
g Deut. 22. 25.
h L. D. de postulando parag. et mouet.
i Rom. 1. 29.
k 1 Cor. 6. 11.
l Seneca in Agamen.
9 Quem pœnitet peccasse pœne est innocens.

Hee saith not, plane est innocens, but pœnè. m 1 Cor 1. 2. and 6. 11. n Minoribus viginti quinque annis ignorare permissum est. 8 L. 9 D. de jur. & fact. igno.

com-

commanded to play by their ſuperiours, whom they durſt not diſpleaſe; and ſo were in a maner [o] inforced therevnto; excuſed by [p] *Tullie* for [*] *neceſſitie*? What if a third ſort, or more, even theſe alſo, haue ſince repented their playing, and thereby [q] *waſhed themſelues, and made themſelues cleane*? Or if neither ignorance, nor force, nor repentance, had either diminiſhed that ignominious blot, or cleane aboliſhed it; the contrary whereof I am perſwaded by the good nature, and honeſt ingenuity of ſuch of the parties as I knowe; but if they had not: yet I being taught to preſume the beſt by him who ſaith that [r] *charity beleeueth all things, hopeth all things*, was to deeme they had, and ſo I doe ſtill,

[o] L. 1. D. Quod metus cauſa geſtum erit. l. 12. c. de his quæ vi, metuve cauſa.
[p] Orat. pro Cœlio.
[*] Si juſſus eſt accuſare: neceſſitati tribuo.
[q] Eſai. 1. 16.
[r] 1. Cor. 13. 7.

Yea, although you ſay it *greeueth them not a little that they ſhould in priuate, but much more in publike, bee charged with infamie*, I beleeue and hope ſo much the better of them: knowing that there is a [ſ] *griefe to repentance*, which the Lord worketh in his by ſuch reproofes; and it was well with [t] *Peter*, whē he *wept bitterly*. Wherefore hauing this perſwaſion of your players, even of them for whoſe parts I charged plaies moſt, namely *Hippodamia*, *Melantho*, the *Nymph*, *Phædra*, and her *Nurſe*; if I ſhould haue noted them as infamous, them I ſay, not their parts, theſe plaiers and not plaiers; I ſhould haue taken on me the iudgment that belongeth vnto the ſearcher of hearts and reines, and ſpoken againſt mine owne conſcience. Which if you haue made them beleeue I loue them ſo ill, by reaſon of the bad conceit I haue of them, that I would doe of ſpite and malice to diſcredit them: yet let me intreat them to thinke I loue my ſelfe better, then that I would through their ſides wound mine owne; who, when I was about the age that they are, ſix and twentie yeares ſince, did play a womans part vpon the ſame ſtage, the part of *Hippolyta*. As for you, who pretending in your propoſition you would aſſay to ſhew that *the truth in this controuerſie belongeth rather to your anſweres, then to the reaſons fathered on Momus*, doe afterward endeavour in your confutation to obſcure & darken the truth with miſtes of pitie & humane affections, inculcating that it would be a contumelie to this or that youth with many, vnleſſe the

[ſ] 2. Cor. 7. 9.
[t] Mat. 26. 75.

cauſe he wonne on your ſide; let mee intreat you likewiſe to regard hereafter, if not my moſt reaſonable petition and deſire, yet your owne concluſion; who, ſaying *you may grant without offence, you truſt, that your cenſure of Momus in the generallitie lighteth vpon me*, doe adde theſe words to proue it; *For the maine matter is not, whether you had occaſion to thinke your ſelfe to be touched in the generallitie*, or no, *being of that opinion you are, but whether the opinion be iuſtifiable*, or no. Which point if you remember in your next reply, though next reply rather I need not much to feare if this point be remembred, no more then *Cato* needed to feare *Galba's* anſwere, *who had beene condemned except he had vſed boyes & teares*, as [a] *Cato* wrote; but, had you remembred it in your laſt reply: you might haue induced me the more eaſily to hearken vnto your advice and requeſt, that I ſhould rather deale with you *by private conference then by farther writing, if you had greatly erred in any thing.*

[a] Cic. lib. 1. de Oratore.

For the truth and equitie of that which I ſaid in defenſe of the reaſons fathered on *Momus* to the reproofe of plaies, is ſo vndoubted and manifeſt of it ſelfe; that men of vnderſtanding and ſenſe, who ſhould compare your reply with it, muſt (though I kept ſilence) needs perceiue your ſtomack was ſick of that [a] hunger, which for an inordinate appetite it breedeth, x Phyſitians call [a] *the dogged appetite*: more greedily diſpoſed to deuoure and ſwallow vp all that it met with, then able to concoct or to retaine well ought that it had taken. A proofe hereof you giue in your very beginning by croſſing of my proeme. Wherein I hauing thanked you *for that by enlarging your anſwere to Momus, you ſhewed why you thought our reaſons to be naught, ſith that your reprouing thereof did touch mee alſo, who tooke them not to be raſcall reproaches, as you tearmed them, but ſound reaſons*: every branch hereof you carpe and checke. But how? Firſt, where I had written, that *as our Sauiour, when he was ſmitten by one for ſpeaking naught but reaſon, ſaid, If I haue ſpoken evill, beare witneſſe of the evill; but if well, why doſt thou ſmite me? So they, whoſe obiections againſt playes you attributed to the perſon of Momus, might iuſtly ſay in my iudgment, if our reaſons bee naught, diſcouer their naughtineſſe:*

[a] λιμὸς as Hippocrates tearmeth it. Aphoriſm ſect. 2. Aphor. 21.

x Galen. in Aphoriſ. Hippocrat. lib. 2. Alex. Tralli. lib. 7. cap. 3.

[a] ἡ κυνώδης ὀρεξις.

tineſſe; if good, why doe you Mome vs? You reply, that no man can rightly ſay to you, *If our reaſons be naught, diſcover their naughtineſſe; if good, why doe you Mome vs? As Chriſt might truely ſay, If I haue ſpoken evill, beare witneſſe of the evill; but if well, why doſt thou ſmite me? becauſe hee vndoubtedly had ſaid nothing but reaſon, and therefore was moſt vniuſtly ſmitten; but the obiections in your eaſe and againſt you, are moſt vntrue, and there is no man ſmitten by you.* Then which ſpeech of yours (I pray you be not offended with me for my plaineſſe) I never read any, to my remembrence, more void of reaſon. For our Saviours *dilemma* (according to [y] the naturall force of that argument) was made to apprehend and hold faſt his adverſarie whether ſoever himſelfe had ſpoken, evill, or well. So that, when the [z] two theeues, who ſuffered with Chriſt, and [a] deſerved death, were brought into iudgement, in caſe the iudge had offered to giue ſentence againſt them [b] before they heard why, they might haue iuſtly ſaid, *If we haue robbed any, beare witneſſe of our robberie; if not, why doe yee condemne vs?* Wherefore, when, to reproue the former part of my *dilemma*, you affirme that *no man can rightly ſay vnto you, if our reaſons bee naught, diſcouer their naughtineſſe, becauſe Chriſt vndoubtedly had ſaid nothing but reaſon*: vndoubtedly your ſelfe doe ſpeake beſide all reaſon. As much in a manner, as beſide the truth, when to reproue the latter part thereof you addeſt, *that you doe Mome no man.* For ſo muſt I interpret your words of ſmiting no man: or elſe you ſpeake beſide all reaſon herein too, when vpon my citing Chriſts words, *Why doſt thou ſmite mee*, by way of ſimilitude to your *Moming vs*, you ſay, *no man is ſmitten by you.* But that ſome are ſmitte by you with *Momus* name even all reproners of plaies, and ſo (which is the next branch you plucke at) my ſelfe; I ſhewed by the meaning of the tale of *Momus*, opened out of *Ariſtotle*, ioined with your applying thereof vnto a perſon who chargeth plaies as we doe. To the refutation whereof it maketh nothing, that when you declared *you did enlarge therefore your anſwere vnto Momus, becauſe I and others had asked why the things by him obiected were not anſwered*, you ſay, *that by others you meant ſome of your friends*,

[y] Hermogen. de invent. c. 3. 4 ex Demoſt. de corona. Cic. lib. 1. de invent. ſub nomine complexion.
[z] Mat. 27. 38.
[a] Luk. 23. 41.
[b] Act. 25. 16.

no

not reprovers of plaies: and that you had no purpose to touch me in particular, nor knew, when you conceived and penned the device of *Momus*, that I had reproved them. For was it the man in the moone, trow we, whose *raſcall reproaches, or (as you correct it) *triviall* and common, you put in the mouth of *Momus*, and made your *Epilogue* controll them? Or was it ſome on earth, whoſe ſpeeches, being noted by you as commō and taunting, doe argue that they had one or more authours, not friends, but adverſaries of plaies? Moreover, when you tell me, that till *you vnderſtood it by mee and by a preacher of late, you never thought that either I, or any other, in the Vniverſity had abbetted Momus obiections*: doe you not confeſſe, that, ere you wrote this, you vnderſtood it of vs two? And can you perſwade your ſelfe that we two alone, and no bodie elſe, are abbetters of them? Nay, doe you not ſignifie that you ſee there are more, when, ſpeaking of *others*, you ſay you *meant not ſuch, as you perceiue by me there are, who ſhould miſlike your playes*; and by way of oppoſing me and them to *Many*, you name vs *One* or *a Few*? You acknowledge then, that notwithſtanding your ſelfe meant not theſe by *others*, yet certaine ſuch there are. Neither can your vſing the device of *Criticus* & *Zoilus* in like manner to rebuke the carpers of your own Tragedie as curious and malitious, permit you to deny with any colour of probabilitie that you meant to note theſe by *Momus* name. Chiefly now that you haue expreſly faſtened it on them in your reply: ſaying *in excuſe of time, the Sunday, whereon your Tragœdie was played, that ſome of them, it may bee, who miſliked your plaies, were worſe occupied then yous actors were on the ſame night, playing Momus part in good earneſt before you, which you did afterward but for paſtime.* Wherefore you complaining that *you knowe not whom, nor very well what, I meane by They and Vs*, in that I ſaid, *They whoſe obiections, and, Why doe you Mome vs*, is frivolous and idle, to ſay no worſe of it: frivolous, becauſe you knowe I meane the Preacher, my ſelfe and all abbetters of *Momus* his obiections: idle, becauſe albe it you knew not whom I meane, yet my ſpeech is ſound, that *They, whoſe obiections againſt plaies, you attributed to the perſon*

*Probra Arrepta quæ cōgeſſit ex trivijs.

son of Momus, might iustly say in my iudgement, If our reasons be naught, discouer their naughtines; if good Why do you Mome vs? More idle and frivolous is your labouring to perswade me, that *I had no iust occasion to suspect that your purpose was therein to touch me, to taxe mee in particular*; both by discoursing that *those two inducements, to wit, my reproving of Theater-fights and stage-plaies in the Preface of my Thelis, and my reasons giuen thereof in letters to D. Thornton, which I* (so you affirme) *did chiefly alleage to proue my coniecture, are not enough to proue it, in as much as you had not read the one of them, nor heard of the other*: and by most earnestly avouching *coram Deo* (as if an c oath needed to cleere you from my wrongfull opinion and surmise) that *your meaning only was to moue delight in the auditorie, with the noveltie of the invention, and the person; & to obiect those things against your selues by your selues, which might abate all suspicion of vaine glory or selfe-pleasing in you; and so by this meanes, as it were with a slight, to shift off all occasion of others ill speaking, when you had prevented them with as ill as mought be.* I say, this is more idle and frivolous then the former, because I was so farre from making any shew of suspecting my selfe to be touched purposely by you in particular: that contrariwise I signified, I thought my selfe touched not so, but in generall; by the censure lightning not in your intent, but in event, vpon me. And for this respect alone not for the other, did I alleage those *writings of mine*, which you mention; to proue, not a coniecture thereby, but a certaintie, that I was a reprover of plaies; and therefore sith you meant to note all such reprouers vnder the name of *Momus*, as I shewed withall, must needes thinke my selfe to bee touched therein. Which also I delivered with such care of plainesse & perspicuitie, distinguishing eftsoones your intent of noting no particular man from your generall not touching me by consequent, that as on the one part you could not choose but grant that I had occasion to thinke my selfe touched in the generalitie; likewise of the other, you were enforced to see, that I gaue no token of any way suspecting you to haue intended particularly to taxe me. Insomuch that your selfe, encountring

c Gal 1,20.

as it were your discourse thereof, acknowledge it expressely with these very words; *But that I had no purpose by Momus side to wound you, according to the law of charitie, vpon my former protestation, you doe most gladly credit mee, as you write*; and with these, *The matter is cleered in your good minde*; thus your selfe commend me, and *heartely thanke me for it*.

A strange kinde of dealing to charge a man with thinking amisse of your purpose, who, by your own confession, thinketh rightly of it; to touch him as breaking the law of charitie through false surmises, who keepeth it in your owne iudgement; to take the name of God for affecting with him by new protestation, that which your former protestation, your selfe say, had obtained of him; by manifest misconstruction to presse out of his writing a point whereof hee writeth the contrarie, as your selfe witnesse; to controll a thing as mideemed by him vpon erroneous coniecture, which your owne conscience testified to you. and your owne mouth to others, that *it is cleered in his minde*; finally to pretend, that being assaulted by one who sought your life, you were compelled to enter a long combat with him, when you grant straightwaies vpon the ende thereof that no man did assault you; it was a post onely, whereon you set a helmet to make it seeme a man, that so by valiant foyning at it, and hacking of it, you might get the credit of hauing slaine an enimie, and left him in the place as dead as a doore naile, The [d] Physitians note, that such as are diseased with that kinde of hungry sickneſſe, which I mentioned, haue a greedy appetite to be eating still: but being vnable to keepe that they haue eaten, doe cast it vp by vomit, and then eat more, and vomit againe; and eat eftsoones, and vomit. How like a distemper you are fallen into, through desire of swallowing vp & contradicting all that I had written, which yet your want of strength to hold and maintaine doth force you to regorge and yeeld: your going outward in this course bewrayeth farther. For I, to shew how all reprovers of playes are noted as vniust reprovers by your tale of *Momus*, declared out of *Aristotle*, that *it was deuised to checke such as reprooue vniustly the best and perfectest workes of the most wise and skilfull*.

[d] Alex. Trallian. l. 7. cap. 3. Actius tetrab. 3. serm. 1 c. 21.

skilfull. You reply that *you brought him not in ſomuch in that ſenſe that Ariſtotle ſpeaketh of, as a reprover of the beſt and perfecteſt workes of the moſt wiſe and skilfull; for I never tooke* (ſay you) *either our ſelues, or our playes to be ſuch: but as wee commonly take him as a carper, and a pincher at all things that are done with any opinion of well doing.* Wherein with one breath you overthwart, and grant, thē purport of my ſpeech. You overthwart it in ſaying that *you brought Momus in, as wee commonly take him;* & oppoſing this point to the point I mentioned, *not in that ſenſe that Ariſtotle ſpeaketh of, but thus:* You grant it in confeſſing that you brought him in alſo in that ſenſe, though *not ſo much in that ſenſe:* which I ſaid not you did ſo much, but only that you did it. And albeit herein by gaine-ſaying mē with your, *Not*, and *But*, you may ſeeme to charge me with ſaying that you brought him in ſo much in that ſenſe: yet you meant rather by cunning interlacing of thoſe words, *ſo much*, cloſely to diſcharge your mouth of a morſell, which you had taken in, and felt it overhot and burning. For hauing alleaged * the very ſame that *Ariſtotle*, how *Momus carped Nature, the Creatour of all things*, that is, God, I trow, *the moſt wiſe and skilfull framer of the beſt and perfecteſt workes:* you adde that * *after this ſort, Momus* (whom you bring in) *though doing nought himſelfe, yet carpeth at the beſt; and hath with theſe and theſe taunts declaimed againſt your playes.* So, whereas you reaſon, that *you never tooke your ſelues or your playes to be ſuch*, ſhould import that you brought him not in at all in that ſenſe; and then had I affirmed amiſſe, that *you rehearſed the tale to ſuch purpoſe:* your ground thereof allaied with the termes *ſo much*, implieth that you grant, that the thing it ſelfe, which I affirmed is true, and that you were diſpoſed to play by this conveiance a iugling tricke of faſt and looſe. Againe, whereas I noted that you called our reaſons, attributed to *Momus, raſcall reproches*, vſing the Engliſh words to expreſſe your Latin, *probra arrepta ex triviis*: firſt you wiſh *I had not ſo tranſlated it, for that the words in Latin naturally ſound not ſo hardly;* yet afterward you grant that *you know the words may be ſo properly trāſlated.* Wherof in the latter how manifeſtly you caſt vp

* Ipſamque reprehendit artificem omnium. Quod capite tauris cornua, haud armis daret.

* Sic matre Nocte genitus ac Somno Patre, Nihil ipſe præſtans optimos carpit tamen.

that which you ſwallowed in the former, appeareth by your laboring to confirme the former, what with [e] *Alciats* ſaying, that *words muſt be generally taken ſo farre forth as their proprietie may beare*; what with your own denying that * *probra arrepta ex trivijs doe moſt properly and principally ſignifie raſcall reproches. Moſt properly, and principally*; a like feat in adding to the word *properly, moſt, and principally*, as before in thruſting in the termes *ſo much*: ſith neither in the clauſe, which anſwereth to this, you ioine *moſt* with *naturally*; nor ſay out of *Alciat*, that *words muſt be taken as their moſt principall proprietie may beare* (though by an [a] other note of his, [b] diſplaced cunningly, and racked hereunto it ſeemeth you would ſhine inply it) *but as their proprietie*. Howbeit, if I liſt to preſſe you therein alſo, perhaps the ſame phraſe, *arripere maledictum ex trivio*, vſed by [c] *Tullie*, and compared with *Alciats* meaning *of moſt proper and principall ſignification*, would proue that *probra arrepta ex trivijs doe moſt properly and principally ſignifie raſcall reproaches*. Sute they haue been deemed skilfull of both languages, who taking on them to deliver the principall and moſt proper ſignification of latine words, haue Engliſhed *maledictum arreptum ex trivio*, [d] *a reproach or taunt, which is commonly ſpoken by every railing knaue*, or, [e] *that is common in every varlets mouth*: and what doth this, I pray you, differ from raſcall? But ſith your ſelfe acknowledge that *words naturally doe ſound and ſignifie that which they ſignifie properly*, and that theſe in queſtion may be tranſlated properly as I did tranſlate them: you ſhew that in affirming *they doe not naturally ſound ſo hardly*, you controlled as falſe that which your ſelfe knew to be true, yea, which you needs muſt ſo acknowledge. In like ſort doe you croſſe me, nay, you croſſe your ſelfe, when in another inditement that you drawe againſt me for the ſame Engliſhing of your Latin, to wit, *that though the words may bee ſo properly tranſlated, yet not to your minde ſo properly*, that is,

[e] De verbor. ſignificat. lib 1.

* In your copie ſent mee, it is, arrepta ex trivijs: what greater iniurie if you meant to ſuppreſſe the word probra Which that you did, you give me occaſion to ſuſpect, becauſe before likewiſe, you cite it, leauing out that word. and Engliſh it common and triuiall ſpeeches: yet becauſe in another copie, given by you abroad, belike after mine, I finde the worde here: I take the omitting thereof in my copie to be a ſlippe of your penne, and therefore doe inſert it.

[a] Primus autem intellectus proprietatis eſt ſua vniuſcujuſque rei appellatio. [b] From Parag 5. as if it enſued the reſt of the words you cite out of Parag. 10. [c] Orat. pro Muræn. [d] Eliota biblioth auctа à coopero edit. ann. 1548. in the word arripio. [e] The ſame in the ſame place edit. ult.

that

not so gently as you meant them, and therefore I did mistranslate them: you say that *in law and reason they are ever to bee interpreted according to their naturall and proper signification, unlesse wee coniecture that he who spake them meant otherwise*; and *no man can iustly coniecture that you meant to use any honest man with so ill termes, when you meant no man at all*. See the pittifull taking of such as seeke deuises to bolster out vntruths for their credits sake: who by those very shifts, by which they hope to scape, are oftentimes entangled, and as it were with netts or chaines entrapped faster. Your owne affirmation, that *you meant no man at all*, doth giue me iust cause of coniecturing that you meant to vse the terme of rascall, as well as of *reproaches*, be they neuer so ill. For in that you say, that *you meant no man at all*, you intend your former speech, that you meant *Momus* only. Now you charged *Momus* with a [a] *filthy tongue*, an [b] *vgly face*, a [c] *stinking breath*, an [d] *ill fauored gastly rammish bush of haire*: and *can no man iustly coniecture that you meant to vse him with so ill termes, as rascall reproaches*? You called him a [e] *spirit, an impious carper of the Gods, of men, and of nature, a person therefore odious and detestable to the Gods, and to the best men*: and *can no man iustly coniecture that you meant to vse him with so ill termes, as rascall reproaches*? You reported of him that [f] *hee defiled all things with the vncleane touch of his tongue*; that [*] *he is vnskilfull, dull, or sottish rather*: & *can no man iustly coniecture that you meant to vse him with so ill termes, as rascall reproaches*? But what doe I reason out of your former writing that I had cause to thinke so: when your selfe, in this, doe giue most euident and cleare tokens that you meant so? For you say expressely that you made *Momus to speake as ill as mought be; neither cared greatly what you made him say, as thinking any such thing became him well enough: nor talked otherwise of him, then as of a carper, a nipper, a depraver, and a reprehender of every good thing*. And can you denie that your meaning was to speak of his reproaches as rascall, base & contemptible, whom you made purposely to speak as ill as mought be, & cared not what you made him say? or dare you affirme you meant to vse him gently, whom you accuse of *carping*,

[a] Ipsum esse Momum lingua tam foeda arguit.
[b] Dira facies.
[c] Quis huius oris spiritum effugiat grauem?
[d] Comæ color improbus. Ardens capilli quis domet rictus tui?
[e] Obiicere tali me queam spectro, Deos Hominesque, naturam que carpenti impie; Odioque Diis pariter & hominibus vsque optimis.
[f] Linguæque tactu fœdat immundo omnia.
[*] Inscitia tibi vt impunè sit & animi stupor Pietas parata tua?

ping, nipping, depraving, and reprehending of all good things, and doe rough hew him in ſuch ſort? You tell me that *how words are to be taken in charity I know better then you: but in law and reaſon they are to bee interpreted with this rule of the ſpeakers meaning*. Belike becauſe you weaned that you had proued hereby, (chiefly hauing quoted thereto a [g] *lawiers* text,) that, looke in what ſenſe you ſay you meant your words, in that I muſt interpret them by law and reaſon: you thought that I was likewiſe in charitie bound to thinke that you meant them ſo, in as much as the ſcripture ſaith, [h] *Charitie beleeueth all things*. But you ſhould haue marked that the ſcripture ſaith alſo, [i] *A foole beleeueth every thing*: and he who exhorteth the faithfull to be charitable, dehorteth them from doing fooliſhly, [k] *Walke not as fooles, but as wiſe*. A ſure demonſtration, that *charitie* is ſaid *to beleeue all things*, not properly, but in a figure; not ſimplie all, but a number; euen all that a good man in wiſedome may beleeue. and to [l] beleeue vntruths, is a point of follie; repugnant, as to wiſedome, ſo conſequently to charitie: which in the [m] ſame parcell of ſcripture is ſaid, *not to reioyce in iniquity, but to reioyce at the truth*. Wherefore ſeeing reaſon doth ſhew by ſundry circumſtances, that you ſay vntruly, *You meant not to vſe ſo ill and hard termes, as raſcall reproaches*; and this is the naturall and proper ſignification of your Latin words, which therefore muſt be ſo interpreted by law: it were to be wiſhed, that you learned better what charitie requireth, before you raiſe vncharitable ſuſpicions of others as ſinning againſt it when they doe not; and then it might be hoped you would no more pretend the name of law or reaſon, to plaiſter your vnreaſonble and vnlawfull blaming of things delivered rightly according both to law and reaſon.

[n] *Pindarus* ſaith, that *men who take workes in hand, muſt ſett them forth with beautifull forefronts and entries*. The leſſe doe I marvell that you who make ſo bad a beginning of your worke, deale worſe, if worſe might be, and more perverſly in the reſt. whereof to reſerue for their ſeverall places the proofe that in a maner all the particulars yeeld; two generall kinds of ſeelie evaſions and ſhifts may ſerue for the firſt taſt: one, that when

g Alciat. de verb. ſignifi. lib. 1

h 1 Cor. 13. 7.

i Prov. 14. 15.

k Ephe. 5. 15.

l 2 Theſ. 2. 11.

m 1 Cor. 13. 6.

n Olympior. Hymn. 6.

when you see your arguments refuted, you denie them to bee yours, an other that you say, you vsed them not to vs, but to *Momus*, and by this fine deuise you neither answere *Momus* nor vs. For examples sake, whereas to the obiection made out of the word of God against your playes, that *it is vnlawfull for men to put on womens raiment*, you replied that *it is not vnlawfull simply and alwayes, as if one doe it to saue his life, to benefitt many*: I shewed that this reason is vnsound and naught: *A man to saue his life or country, may doe it; He may doe it therefore to play a part on a stage*. Hereunto you answere, that *you doe not thus argue, It is lawfull in such and such cases to put on womans raiment; Ergo it is lawfull to doe it in playes: but thus; ergo it is not simplie vnlawfull so to doe*. And did you argue thus indeed, neither concluded you, that it *is lawfull therefore to doe it in plaies*? Certes then you disputed valiantly against Momus, who [a] reproued plaies because *young men are cladd like maidens* therein. But your whole discourse doth argue that this argument whereof you are ashamed (well, if you would also ingenuously confesse it) was intended by you. For you professed that albeit you thought *Momus rascall reproaches against playes worthyer to bee laughed at, then to bee refuted*: [b] *yet the weightiest of them you would in few words shake out of their ragges*, or who soeuer you will translate your *excutere*, applied to those rascalls. Now by what consequence doth your answere shake that reproach of his, vnlesse it conclude that men may be lawfully cladd in playes like women? Or who is so blind that reading your reply, perceiueth not your [c] second *Ergo*, I say your second, For the [d] first (I graunt) concludeth, that it is not *simply vnlawfull so to doe*; but the second *Ergo*, with the [e] assumption following, & the [f] *Epiphonema*, directly doe imply a contradicting of *Momus*; & therefore a concluding out of the former point, that, *because it is lawfull in such and such cases to put on Womans raiment, Ergo it is lawfull to doe it in plaies*? What? And when you said that [g] *no apparell but the minde doth make a man dishoneſt*, meant you not that men may weare womens raiment with honesty in plaies? Whē you concluded that [h] *You liſt not waſh away other things which*

Momus

a Præclara res est Momus, & gestum aſſequi, Simulare vultum ac verba, testari Deos, Et sub puella tegere iuvenem puberem.

b Graviora paucis excutere fas sit tamē.

c Non ergo vestis fœmineæ iuvenī est scelus, sed prava mens, libido, &c.

d Non ergo iuveni est grande simpliciter nefas Mollem puell induere.

e Quid simile nobis obiicere quisquam potest?

f Maledicta textum glossa quæ vitiat bonum.

g Nec habitus vllus, sed animus turpem facit.

h Quæ dixit in nos, alia dicere haud placet,

Momus ſpake *againſt you*: did you not imply that herein you had mett with his blaming you for young men made maidens on the ſtage? When you begged a [n] ſecond *Plaudite* of the beholders, that *the gutts of Momus might burſt for ſpite aſunder*: ſought you their approbation of *Achilles* changing his ſexe to ſaue his life; or of *Meianthos* doing it to feed theatricall humours? In the [o] *Greeke Epigrames* we read of two deafe men impleading one the other before a deafe Iudge. Amongſt whome when the plaintife obiected to the defendant, that he ought him fiue moneths rent for his houſe, and the defendant anſwered that hee was grinding corne at the mill that night: *What a Gods name*, quoth the Iudge, *what needeth this contention? Hath not each of you a Mother? Let each find his owne.* I am glad Mr D. *Gager*, that by your appealing to the iudgment of our betters, we haue agreed on iudges who heare well enough. For they, vnderſtanding how your *Vlyſſes redux* is penned & was played, will iudge that you are not deafe: as [p] their like at *Athens* hauing heard *Oedipus Coloneus* read, a tragedie written by *Sophocles*, gaue ſentence that he was not a ſott or doting man. And therefore, though you tell them that in your reply, of grinding at the mill, you meant to proue only that you hurt not *Momus* by ſeeking of his life or purſe that night on *Salſbery plaine*: yet they, conſidering wiſely that you profeſſed to anſwere his bill of complaint touching the fiue months rent, will thinke you argued thus againſt him; *I was grinding corne at the mill that night, Ergo I owe him not fiue months rent for his houſe*. Neither can I doubt but they will in like ſort miſlike your other practiſe, of ſaying that you ſpeak not to vs but to *Momus*, & ſo ſlipping away with anſwering neither him, nor vs. As when you asked vs in *Momus* perſon, (ſo I tooke it) *Dare yee diſpiſe learned poetrie?* ſecretly to inferre thereby your maine concluſion, that *if learned poetrie may not be deſpiſed, your ſtudents may be actors of learned Poets playes*; and I out of St Paul did refell this argument: you reply that *you asked not of me, or them, or any man but Momus, any ſuch queſtion*. Which thing you doe not only avouch vpon your word, affirming that *you ſhould be beleeued*: but you cite your writing

n Proinde diſrumpantur vt Momo iſta, Iterum benignus vnique applauſus ſonet.

o Lib. 2. ca. 30.

p Cic. de Senect.

alſo

alſo to proue it, *An tu Poëſin deſpicere doctam audeas?* Vrging that you ſaid not, *An vos*; but *An tu*. Many grieuous pangs of that hungry ſickneſſe, which, for the *ſymptomata* of eating ſtill and vomiting, Phyſitians (as I ſhewed) doe name the *dogged appetite* appeare in your whole reply. But none more greeuous in any part thereof, then here, where, through the ſharpnes and outrage of your humour, you fulfil that proverb, (your * intemperance forceth me to be more cruell, I meane, to vſe more lothſome & diſpleaſant ſpeeches then otherwiſe I would ſpecially to perſons of your ſtate and qualitie) you fulfill, I ſay, that proverb of *Salomon*, q *A dogg returneth to his vomitt.* Yea, in ſo much worſe ſort doe you ſuppe this againe vp, which you vomited before, of meaning neither mee nor any other man in your reproofe of *Momus*: becauſe you adde ſuch reaſons to proue you meant not vs in asking that queſtiõ, as your ſelfe muſt needs know you vttered but a ſick mans dreame. For (to begin with the latter, which is the ſtronger of them) your ſelfe doe acknowledge vpon my proofe thereof out of your owne words, that in r your reproofe *Criticus* and *Zoilus, whoſoeuer findeth ſuch fault with your Tragedie, as you controll them for, him you meant to note as a malitious Zoilus, and a carping Critick.* Yet the *Critick* you ſpeake to in the ſingular number, as well as to *Momus*: You anſwere to his ſundrie cheeks of your epiſtle, *Rectè tu quidem iſta, Critice, ſi ſcriberem epigrammata*: you ſay nat *vos*, but *tu*. You note him for his ſ wittie railing at your Tragedie, *Profectò ipſum te eſſe Criticum oportet*: you ſay not *vos*, but *te*. You deteſt his fooliſh & quarelſome wranglings, *Emoriar ſi amem lites, ſaltem criticas, id eſt futiles, id eſt tuas, Critice*: you ſay not *veſtras*, but *tuas*. You come vpon him e itſoones, againe, and againe, with t *tu*, and u *tu*, and *tua*, and *Critice*, as to one ſtill: you ſay not *vos Critici, vos Critici*, and *veſtra*. Wherefore if notwithſtanding your forme of ſpeech to one in the ſingular nu nber, you intended it to all, as curious carpers, who will be picking quarels at your Tragedie-writing: alas, What was become of your witts and ſenſes, when by ſuch a cavill you thought to convince me, that, becauſe you ſaid not *An vos*, but *An tu*, you meant not

* Crudelem medicum intemperans ægerfecit Publius Syrus.

q Prov. 26. 11.

r Epiſtola ad Criticum.

ſ Ita ex ingenioſè maledicus.

t Quid enim putidius, quàm quod tu facere ſoles?

u Tu improbè facis, qui m alieno libello nimis es ingenioſus.

x Lector debebit tux, id eſt, malæ linguæ.

your speech to me and all others, as vniust reproovers, who will be finding fault with your enterlude-playing? Those [y] idle pastors of the Church, [z] evill beasts, and slow-bellies, who [a] haue mouths, and speake not; eyes, and see not; feet and go not; who [b] feed themselues and not their flockes, but [c] take their ease in *Sion*, doe seeke with faces harder then brasse, and harts then adamant, to besott themselues, and perswade others, that [d] *Christs* reproofe of the wicked servant, which imployed not the money he receiued as his master charged him in trade and trafick to his advantage, belongeth not to them. But amongst their wretched excuses and defences of their *non-residence*, though as lewd and braineſick many, as this is, yet neuer heard I this; that *Christ* speaketh not to them; but to a loſell who laid vp his money in a napkin, because his words are, *of thine owne mouth will I iudge thee, ô evill servant*; he saith not, *of your owne mouths, but of thine*; not, *I will iudge you, but thee*. The covetous engrossers of wealth & slaues of Mammon, who [a] joyne house to house, and lay field to field, till there bee no place; whose [b] hope is their gold; whose [c] godlines their gaine; whose [d] meditation, *what shall I doe? I will pull downe my barnes and build greater, and therein will I gather all my fruits and my goods; and I will say to my soule, Soule, thou hast much goods laid vp for many yeares; liue at ease, eate, drinke, and bee merry*: these worldlings faine would flatter themselues with assurance of many yeares life, and much would they giue for a lease thereof. But I thinke they are not so full of [e] *Nabals* qualitie, that the Lords advertisement [f] *O foole, this night shall thy soule be fetched away from thee*, they will reiect by noting hee saith, *thy soule from thee*, he saith not, *yours from you*: and thereupon imagin they are not tenants at will, nor may be turned out of their houses of clay vpon an houres warning, nay vpon no warning giuen them at all. [h] *Tully* maketh mention of some witty lawyers, who, because they found the name of *Caia* set downe for example sake in some Authors books treating of a certaine solemnitie in betrothing, they thought that every woman so betroathed & maried should be called *Caia*. A conceit, that seemed ridiculous to *Tully*: yet comming farre behinde

y Zac. 11. 17.
z Tit. 1. 12.
a Psal. 115. 5.
b Ezek. 34. 2.
c Amos. 6. 1.
d Luk. 19. 22.
a Esai 5. 8.
b Iob. 31. 24.
c Amos 8. 5.
d Luk. 12. 17.
e 1 Sa. 25. 25.
f Luk. 12. 20.
g Iob. 4. 19.
h Orat. pro Murzen.

hinde that which yours implyeth, that no other woman but *Caia* alone was meant in the treatiſe, and therefore none but ſhee might be ſo betroathed. By conſequence whereof if you had liued in thoſe daies, you muſt haue maintained that it was not lawfull for any to bee maried but only *Iohn* and *Ioane*, I would ſay *Caius* and *Caia*. For[i] the maner was that they, who brought the bride into the bridegroomes houſe, did bid her vſe this ſpeech, *Vbi tu Caius, ego Caia*: not making any mention of *Lucius* and *Lucia*, *Sempronius* and *Sempronia*, but of *Caius* and *Caia*; neither ſaying *nos, & vos*, but *tu & ego*.

[i] Plutar. Roman. inſtitutor. ca 30.

Now if the ſtronger of your reaſons hinder not but your demaund might bee made to vs: much leſſe doth the weaker.

For whereas you tell vs, that *you demaunded not of me, or them, or any man but Momus, any ſuch queſtion, if you may bee beleeued; as, why you ſhould not, you ſee no cauſe*: firſt how proue you this, that *you ſee no cauſe, why you ſhould not bee beleeued?* Forſooth becauſe *you were as ſure* (you ſay) *that I or any learned man did not deſpiſe poëtrie, as you were certaine that Momus did.* O miſerable blindneſſe ſhall I ſay? or madnes, wherewith your humorous greedines of croſſing me detracted you. As who ſay you had not ſo much the greater reaſon to aske vs ſuch a queſtion, becauſe you were ſure that we did not deſpiſe poëtrie. Elſe you muſt affirme that when *Chriſt* demaunded, [k] *what man ſhall there be among you that hath a ſheepe, who, if it fall on a Saboth day into a pitt, will not take hold of it, and liſt it out?* Hee asked not any ſuch queſtion of the *Phariſeis*, or *Scribes*, or any man, but your *Momus* brethren, that is, the men whom fanſies imagine in the clouds: becauſe hee was as ſure that the *Phariſeis* or any wiſe man would not ſuffer his ſheepe to lie in the pitt on the *Saboth day*, as hee was certaine that the clouds would. For if you perceiue that *Chriſt*, to make the *Phariſeis* confeſſe that *it is lawfull to heale a man on a Saboth day*, had reaſon to demand whether they would not lift vp their ſheepe out of a pitt then, which he knew they would; that by granting this they might diſcerne the better they muſt needs graunt that: how could you chuſe but ſee, that your purpoſe being to make vs confeſſe, that comedies &

[k] Matt. 12.11.

tragedies may be lawfully played, you had like reason to aske whether we did despise learned poëtrie, which you were sure wee did not; that by granting this (you thought) we might the rather be forced to graunt that. Wherefore sith even herein there was cause sufficient to make me imagine that you did demaund the question of vs: you should conclude rather that your sight was naught, who saw not so much, then that, because you saw it not, you should be beleeued affirming the contrarie. Moreouer, to ad nitt there was no cause herein why you should not be beleeued, yet might there be in somewhat else: and such, as you should also haue easily espied, vnlesse the inordinate passion of your minde had dazled your sight. For your [l] *Law* informed you that *they, who are inconstant and light in their testimonies, must not be beleeued*: Now though you perceiue not your owne fault therein, as [m] *Aristotle* saith, *Physitians* being sicke *can not discerne the truth touching their owne diseases because of their distemper, and therefore doe they vse the helpe of other Physitians*: the events of your hungry sicknes which I noted, doe manifestly argue, that you wauered much in saying and vnsaying the same when you wrote to me. And how small account of yeelding to the truth you make in th se matters, you had shewed before when [n] you told *Criticus*, that [o] *you know not whether those things bee true, which hee obiecteth; and perhaps they are not farre from being true: yet are you disposed to goe against them, to crosse them.*

You might see cause therefore why you should not be beleeved in that you affirme *you demaunded not of vs, or any man but Momus, any such question*: Howbeit granting this, which you so wrastle for, what say you then to *Momus*; I meane to the argument implied in your demaund to him, and prooued by mine answeare to bee naught and defectiue? Nay not a worde to that. Onely, as if you would say that you were disposed to spurr him idle questions, and not to reason against him; or that, although the reason meant therein were naught, yet good enough for him whome you make a mome and faine to your se fe a foolish adversary, a thing that [p] *Quintilian* misliketh in declaimers; you say that *you asked it of no man but*

[l] L. 2. D. de testibus. l. 27. D. ad leg. Corn. de falſ.

[m] Politicor. li. 3. cap. 12.

[n] Epi ad Criticum.

[o] Haud ſcio an vera iſta ſint: fortaſſe non multum abſunt à veris. Sed tamen libet ire contrà.

[p] Lib 5 ca. 13. Declamatores in primis ſunt admonendi, ne ſibi ſtultum adverſarium fingant. Facimus autem &c.

of

of *Momus*. Thus in theſe generall and common kindes of miſerable evaſions and ſhifts through the miſt whereof you would leape away: our iudges will acknowledge (I hope) that your intent was rather to ſeek corners for hiding of your fault then to confeſſe your overſights and yeeld the victory to the truth. Surely, for mine owne part, your dealing doth perſwade me that when you reſolved to reply vpon mee, you thought with your ſelfe the ſame that you vttered in your Epiſtle vnto *Criticus*: *I know not whether thoſe things be true which he writeth; and perhaps they are not farre from being true,* * *yet am I diſpoſed to haue a craſh againſt them.*

* Sed tamen ibet ire contra.

Yea even for the branches and points wherevnto you ſtand in the particulars, the foure heads of reaſons, neither denying their drift, the marke they aimed at; nor excuſing them as faire againſt *Momus*, though they come nothing neere the marke: albeit you deale with greater probabilitie, and therefore carry your ſelfe the bolder, yet deale you like your ſelfe, and lay ſtill the colours of probabilitie on ſophiſtrie. For whereas in the firſt, concerning the iudgement of the ancient *Romans* holding all ſtage-plaiers infamous by their law, you ſaid that the *Prætor* pronounced none infamous but ſuch as plaied for gaine-ſake, and I proved the contrarie by the *Prætors* words: you reply that the *Prætor* meant the ſame that you ſay, though his words were generall of ſtage-plaiers without diſtinction. This in the foremoſt ranke, if it will prevaile. If not; you adde thereto, that the actors of your plaies are no ſtageplaiers. But how falſe both theſe things are, and how fraudulently ſought to be avouched: our betters, if it pleaſe them to compare my proofes with your reply, ſhall ſee. For *Tully*, as I ſhewed, affirmeth that the *Romans counting all kindes of ſtage plaies ſhamefull and diſhoneſt, agreed that ſuch as plaied them ſhould not only want the honour of other citizens, but alſo bee diſfranchized.* Which, for the laſt note of infamie, being alſo witneſſed by *Livie*, and *S^t Auſtin* having thereupon obſerved that *the Romans counted all ſtage-players infamous*: *Gothofredus* knowing that the edict of the *Prætor* did expreſſe the iudgement and *law* of the *Romans*, and marking that the words of the edict were

generall touching all stage-plaiers, saith in the interpreting thereof that both plaiers for gaine-sake and without gaine were held infamous by it, according to *S. Austin* and *Livie*. And this to haue beene truely said by *Gothofredus*, I declared agreeably to the grounds of law by testimonies of the *Romans*; of *Cornelius Nepos*, *Laberius*, *Iuvenal*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, and others. As for that *Vlpian* (whose words you cited as the *Prators*) and *Pegasius* with *Nerva*, doe say that *such as play for gaine-sake are infamous*, I answered that it followeth not that therefore they thought free plaiers not infamous: sith the Scripture likewise counteth a woman infamous who prostituteth her bodie vnto men for mony; yet counteth her infamous too who doth it freely. Or if they thought the *Prators* edict to haue that meaning, which perhaps they did: then they come too short of his meaning somewhat, and are well corrected therefore by *Gothofredus*. Now you, to proue the contrary, and disproue my prooses, affirme that [p] *Nerva* and *Pegasius* adde those words [*] *for gaine-sake* to distinguish players for gaine from free plaiers, which, you say, is manifest: and againe as manifest, you saie, that *Vlpian doth approue their distinction*. But if you thought good to confirme this point, whereof I shewed only what cause I had to doubt, I denied it not: you should bring strong arguments to conuince they doe so, not idle affirmations that it is manifest they doe. For what if a wel-thie and lascivious courtisan should say that [q] *Moses mentioneth the hire of the whore, to distinguish mercenarie whores from free and franke dames*, as it is manifest: and againe, as manifest that the [r] Prophets doe approue his distinction? Were there any weight in this to perswade vs that *Moses* & the *Prophets* mention the whores hire to distinguish hired whores from defilers of themselues without hire; vnhonest from honest; infamous from praise worthie: and not to note rather that such as plaie the whores doe it for hire commonly? You adde, that *Glossa communis*, *Baldus*, *Petrus de Castro* (would you not say *Paulus*, for *Petrus* I cannot heare of) *and all whom you haue seene vpon that text of law doe so vnderstand it*. This is an argument yet: though not strong enough. For all, who you haue seene,

[p] D de his qui notantur infam. l. 2. §. Ait Prætor.

[*] Quæstus causa, & propter præmiū.

[q] Deut. 23. 18.

[r] Hos. 9. 1. [s] Mic. 1. 7.

ſeene, vnderſtand it ſo. It may be. But others, who haue ſeene mor: law bookes, perhaps can tell you of many that vnderſtand it otherwiſe. My ſelfe, as few as I haue ſeene, can tell you of two, [f] *Budæus*, and an author *of a Greeke abridgment of the Ciuill law*, whom *Budæus* citeth. For the *Greeke author* doth expound it thus, *That all, who trie maſteries in ſolemne games for gaine-ſake, are infamous*: [a] *and alſo they who come vpon the ſtage for praiſe-ſake.* And *Budæus* moving a queſtion and doubt how theſe words of the text, that *all who come vpon the ſtage* [b] *for reward, are infamous, ſhould bee vnderſtood, whether that they be not alſo infamous who come vpon the ſtage* [c] *for vaineglorious oſtentation*, anſwereth and reſolveth out of St *Auguſtin*, *and Livie*, [d] *that all ſtageplaying was counted infamous at Rome, and all ſtageplayers were wont to be diſfranchiſed by the Cenſors.* Whoſe interpretation in a point of this quality deſerveth more credit then a hundred ſuch as *Paulus de Caſtro*: ſo meanely ſeene in the text he treateth of, that he giveth the word, *ſtage*, a different meaning from that in the *Prators* edict, which it expoundeth; and ſaith, it ſpeaketh of other games. An argument much ſtronger in ſhew, in ſubſtance weaker, you fetch out of the text: that *in certamen deſcendere, and in ſcenam prodire, doe (as they ſay in your lawe) ambulare æquis paſſibus, in the ſame places of the ſame title, De his qui notantur infamia; but it is moſt evident, that* [e] *qui deſcendit in certamen depugnaturus cum beſtijs dentatis, ac feris, virtutis oſtendendæ non mercedis cauſa, non eſt notatus; Ergo qui prodit in ſcenam pronuntiandi gratia ſine præmio & quæſtu, non eſt notatus.* Which ſylogiſme of yours, if you allow for good: what ſay you vnto this, that (me ſeemes) is like it? *In certamen deſcendere* and *in ſcenam prodire* doe *ambulare æquis paſſibus* in the ſame places of the ſame title; but it is moſt evident, that [f] *qui deſcendit in certamen luctæ aut curſu certaturus cum hominibus non facit artem ludicram; Ergo qui prodit in ſcenã pronuntiandi gratia non facit artem ludicrã.* The major is your owne. The minor as true as yours: Yet the concluſiõ falſe; whcih [g] the ſame places of the ſame title ſhew. And ſeeing by my ſyllogiſme you perceiue, I truſt, that the manlie exercises of wraſtling and running doe farre out-runne ſtag-

playing

[f] Annotat. in Pandect.

[a] vel is Aſt erat triuſue diſcernit ceſſiſſe.

[b] Propter præmium.

[c] Ambitioſa oſtentatione.

[d] Attem omnem ſcenicam probroſam Romæ fuiſſet atque omnes ſcenicos cenſoria nota tribu mouere ſolitos.

[e] D. de poſtulando l. 1. parag. beſtias & D. de his qui not. infam. l. 4.

[f] D. de his qui not infam. l. 4. C. de athletis. l. un.

[g] L. 1. 2. & 3. D. de his qui not. infam.

Playing, as it is meet they should: you see that the maior of your syllogisme faileth, and that *certamen* and *scena* doe not *walke with even passe*, but are coupled together as a quick greyhound and a lazie curre. Farther is it from reason that you adioine a reason of the favourable part of the distinction out of the [x] *Code*; or rather adioine it not, but say that *you thinke it may be gathered thence: because the games of wrastling, rūning, and such like be permitted to them who desire and offer to beare the charge thereof.* When neither doth it follow that because these games *are allowed by Emperours to willing bearers of the charge,* [z] *not imposed on the vnwilling*, therefore free stage-players are approved by *Vlpian*: and it is a wandring fansie to imagine why it should be so, when the question is whether it be so or no. The reason of the other side which I set downe to shew that the distinction cannot be enforced out of *Vlpians* words, because the scripture likewise condemneth them of wickednes who play the whores for hire, yet acquitteth not free whores; you confute as soundly, as you confirme your owne. For you say *it is simply evill to play the whore, either freely or for reward; but not simply evill to come vpon the stage, because the law alloweth it if it be done sine quaestu*: which is a plaine begging of the point in question. And yet hauing told mee that *I must evict that it is simply a sinne for any prodire in scenam, as it is for a woman to prostitute her body*; (I cut off your superfluous words, as namely, *vile*, in adding which *epitheton to sinne* you double a fault corrected by your selfe before when you said, that *I assume that the one is as greivous a sin, as the other, or at the least as absolutely a sinne*:) but hauing told me this, you plead againe the same sophisme, avouching that your consequence, *Prodire in scenam quaestus causa, infamat; ergo prodire in scenam sine quaestu, non infamat*, is a good consequence, *because the law so distinguisheth.* How much greater reason had you to be perswaded that sith I had evicted it to be simply evil, because simply infamous by the *Praetors* sentence, that is, by the law; *Vlpian*, with his authors, interpreters thereof, did insert those words not for distinction sake, but to note the commō cause why it was practised, the loue of reward. Chiefly seeing otherwise

[x] C. de spectaculis. l. 1. in fine.

[z] L. 10. D. ad leg. Iul. de vi publica.

otherwise it most needs follow there is ἀντινομία betweene the texts of your law, and one of them doth crosse an other.

Which if the lawiers whom you haue seene thereō, had as wel obserued by St *Austin* and *Livie*, as *Budæus* had perhaps they would haue thought that all sorts of stage-players, euen such as shew them selues for applause to please men, are therein noted also, as *Budæus* did. But I, who thinke there may be repugnancies in your textes, and had an eye to the point in question between vs, to weet, whether the *Prætor*, whose * edict expressed the ancient *Romans* law, pronounced all stage-players infamous; not whether *Vlpian* thought so, who liued in latter age after greater and longer corruption of maners, & consequently of opinions; in so much that he would exempt a * sort of fruitlesse game-servers from infamie, whom neither [a] ancient *Romans*, though Heathens, did before him, nor [b] *Christian Emperours* after: I (as you acknowledge) did admitt thèy thought so, but vrged that the *Prætor* affirmed the same that I doe, and they mistooke his meaning, as *Gothofredus* proueth in his note thereon. To the which assertion, after a preferring of them before *Gothofrede*, if not in learning, yet in authoritie, needlesse to bee stood on; (for though hee were not better learned then they were, yet might he see by *S. Austin* and *Livie* that they saw not; neither is it authoritie, but learning, that must teach vs what the *Prætor* meant:) you say that *in some sense his short, but quick note, Immò & qui sine quæstu, hurteth not you at all.* Well. In some sense then it hurteth you, in some it doth not. And doth that sense, wherein he meant it, hurt you or no? If no: why say you afterward, *Gothofrede doth gloze against a manifest law without giuing any reason of his so doing?* If yea: what spirit of wrangling had bewitched you to construe an authors words as not gainsaying you, which in his owne meaning you know made flat against you? for after you had said, *If hee meaneth thereby to taxe Laberius, Lentulus, Nero,* and such like, *that did exercere histrioniam, though gratuitam, his exception maketh not against your text*; and had given a reason thereof, beside the text cleane, neither agreeing to *Laberius*, whome yet by your forenaming him it should haue touched:

* Edictum perpetuum Ascon. Pedian in cic. orat. pro corn. D. de orig. jur. l. 2. parag. Eodem tempore C. de vet. jur. enucleand. l. 2. parag. Sed quia.

* Agitatores. D. de his qui notantur in fam l. 4.

a Tacit. annal. lib. 14. Curriculo quadrigarum insistere, fœdum studium Dio, Xiphil. epit. in in Ner. Es τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσέλθοι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀτιμότατοι, ἵππους τε ἤλασαν.

b C. de spectaculis & scenicis, l. 4. See Cuiacius vpon it.

you come in with these words, *But Gothofrede in deede foundeth his sharpe note vpon a saying of S. Austin, Omnes enim scenici probrosi; and of Livie, Et tribu moveri solliti*. So you doe confesse that *Gothofrede* in deed, although you sensed him as if he taxed onely them who plaied to *satisfie their dissolute and lewd humours*, that so hee might not seeme to make against your text, your sense thereof at least; yet in deed hee counteth *all stage-players infamous*, according to the sayings of *S. Austin* and *Livie*, whereon he foundeth his note. in deed *Maister Gager*, you are much to blame, who, to shew that you can obscure a most cleare truth with pretense of law, & a distinction of *some sense*, doe hazard the shipwrack of a good conscience, and wastfullie employ your witt and time both, in bolstering out by writing, that which your selfe see and know to bee vntrue. I did say before, that I gathered by your dealing that when you resolued to reply against me you thought with your selfe: *I know not whether these things be true which hee writeth; yet am I disposed to haue a crash against the*. Now I must in part correct that my saying. For you shew that somewhere in your reply you thought; *I know that this thing, which he writeth, is true*: * *yet haue I a lust to contradict it.*

* Sed tamen libet ire contrà.

True it is therfore that by *Gothofredes* iudgment the *Prator* accounted *all stage-players* infamous; and they, who tooke the *Prator* otherwise, mistooke him. Whereof although I did not alleage *Gothofredus* for the chiefest proofe, but principally cited him to satisfie you, a lawier by a lawier, and prooued it by the best interpreter of the lawe, the practise and consent of the ancient *Romanes*, which he doth ground on also: yet you having *answered him* (you say) *already as it were by the way*, doe adde that *by him the rest of my authority and all mine examples also may receiue their true, though short answere*. The authorities then of *Tullie*, of *Nepos*, of *Laberius*, of *Livie*, of *Iuvenal*, of *Suetonius*, of *Tacitus*, of *Dio*, and of *S. Austin*; the examples of *Nero*, *Lentulus*, and the rest, whom not such authors onely but the people of *Rome* too did esteeme infamous for their stage-playing, were it freelie, or for gaine; may bee answered by your answere to *Gothofredus*. And how? *For hee* (you say)

glozeth

glozeth againſt a manifeſt lawe without giuing any reaſon of his ſo doeing. Why? Doth not hee giue a reaſon in theſe wordes, *Omnes enim ſcenici probroſi, & tribu moveri ſoliti*, prooued by *S.* [c] *Auſtin* and [d] *Livie*? But *S. Auſtin and Livie could never dreame of your text*, you ſay; *and ſo their authorities ſerue not to interpret it*. As who ſay *Gothofredus* brought them to interpret your text, that is, *Vlpian*: not rather to interpret the *Prators edict*, & to correct your text thereby. For thus doth he reaſon in effect: *Vlpian* expounding the *Prators* edict, ſaith that, *they onely, who play vpon the ſtage for gaine ſake, are infamous: but the Prator meant that they, who play without gaine, are infamous alſo, even generally all ſtage-players*; as it is apparant by *S. Auſtin* and *Livie*: *therfore Vlpian miſſeth in expounding the Prators edict*. And, I truſt, an older writer may be cited to correct a younger, of whome hee could not dreame: or elſe y our ſelfe doe evill to cite *Vlpian* againſt me, of whom hee could not dreame you wote well. Though *S. Auſtin* alſo might haue dreamed of *Vlpian*, [e] for ought that I knowe. But you ſay farder that *S. Auſtin and Livie are to bee vnderſtood againſt Hiſtriones: and ſo their authorities ſerue not to this of your text*. Wherein I muſt confeſſe I vnderſtand not what you meane. For I can not imagine you ſhould bee ſo abſurd as to ſay that *they ſpeake not againſt players on ſtage, becauſe they ſpeake againſt Hiſtriones*. Onely as [f] *Socrates*; being asked what hee thought of a certaine booke of *Heraclitus*, anſwered, *Thoſe things which I vnderſtood in it are excellent, and ſo, I thinke, are thoſe to which I vnderſtood not*: ſemblably may I ſay touching theſe branches and parts of your reply, that what I vnderſtood therein maketh nothing againſt the point that I did conclude by *Gothofredus*; no more, I thinke, doth that which I vnderſtand not. Nay, I ſay too little when I ſay *I thinke*. For ſeeing *Hiſtriones* ſignifieth ſtage-players; & *ſtage-players are ſuch as come vpon the ſtage to play or pronounce*, whom the [h] *Prator* ſpeaketh of: I know, that whatſoeuer your meaning be therein, it can haue no force to overthrow that which I concluded by *Gothofredus*. So this with the former diſtinction ſe diſtinction of a *ſenſe* he meant not, being al the anſwere that you make to him:

[c] De ciuit. Dei lib. 2. cap. 11.
[d] *Lib.* 7.
[e] Vlpian liued about two hundred yeares before S Auſt. Lamprid. Alexandro Seuer Euſeb. Chro.
[f] Diog. Laert. in Socr.
[g] Qui artis ludicræ pronuntiandive cauſa in ſcenam prodierit.
[h] Prætoris verba dicunt l. 1. Ait Prætor l. 2. D. de his qui not. infam.

him: the reſt of my authorities and examples all are ſo farre from being anſwered by him, that your anſwerleſſe anſwere doth rather leaue both him and them as vnanſwerable. But you goe forward, and, to overthrow them both an other way you denie that the *Romans* euer iudged, *Omnes ſcenicos infames*. And why? *Becauſe playes* (ſay you) *were ſometimes inſtituted, as in a common plague, ad placandos Deos, and were prouided by great officers of the common treaſure: and ſo they are referred ad religionem & deuotionem. Sometimes they were ſett out at the priuate coſt of the~ that ſued to the people for great offices, or generally for the honour and ſolace of the Citie: and ſo they are referred to magnificence. For magnificentia is a goodly vertue, & verſatur circa ſumptus amplos, non turpes aut infames, becauſe it is a vertue, but circa quacunque in rempublicam honeſta laudis ſtudio conferuntur: among the which* [f] *Ariſtotle reckneth Ludos ſplendide facere. Neither is it to be thought that Æſopus & Roſcius, being both men of that fame, fauour, wealth, and entire familiarity with the beſt & wiſeſt in their times, were reputed as infamous perſons. What ſhould I ſpeake of ſo many Circi, Theatra, Amphitheatra, builded by the greateſt and braueſt Romans with ſo huge charge & ſumtuouſnes? Which though they were once vpon fowle abuſes, or ſome other occaſion, as you write, ouerthrowne by the Romans themſelues: yet euen thoſe playes for which they were aboliſhed were ex eo genere of whome they might haue ſaid (as* [g] *Tacitus doth of Aſtrologers) quod in ciuitate noſtra, & vetabitur ſemper, & retinebitur. Howſoeuer; I cannot thinke that either they would haue ſuffered ſuch things to be done at all, if they had iudged them euill: or to be performed by infamous perſons, being matters of that ſtate and magnificence, and, as they thought, of that deuotion and neceſſitie.* Thus farre your owne words. in which, to ſhew that you doe not denie without cauſe that the *Romans euer iudged all ſtage-players to be infamous*, you make two proofes thereof: one, that *Æſopus & Roſcius were not reputed as infamous perſons*; an other, that *the Romans would not haue ſuffered ſuch things to bee performed by infamous perſons, being matters of great ſtate & magnificence, and, as they thought, of great deuotion and neceſſitie.* Such propoſition,

[f] Ethicor. lib. 4. cap. 5.

[g] Hiſtor. lib. 1.

position such proofes. The proposition savouring of a strange boldnesse (to vse no harder terme) that you, who scarse are fortie yeares old, if yet fortie, in a question of fact, of a thing done fifteene, sixteene, or seuenteene hundred yeares agoe, which a number of witnesses, that lived the same time, men of good credit, affirme to haue beene done, should presume to say, *I deny that it was done.* For *Tully* reporteth that the *Romans counting all kindes of stage-plaies shamefull and dishoneſt, did iudge accordingly of the players.* *Nepos, Laberius, Livie, Iuvenall, Tacitus,* the rest, whom I cited, both of the learned sort, and of the common people, doe testifie the same. Neither can you denie but their words alleaged by mee, doe clearely argue that they iudged thus of free plaiers also, not onely of plaiers for gaine. Yet you harden your face to say against them all: *I deny that the Romans ever iudged all stage-players to bee infamous.* Yea, for proofe hereof you produce two reasons, which imply that they thought no stageplaiers infamous, no not plaiers for gaine: and so you avouch an evident vntruth against your owne confession, your owne conscience. For *Roscius* and *Æsopus* plaied for gaine: as [h] *Plinie* and [i] *Macrobius* shew. Their wealth, which you mention, was gotten by that trade. Now your text of [k] *Vlpian* with *Pegasus* & *Nerva*, saith, that *all who play for gaine, are infamous*; as you confessed before; adding that *you saw no cause to mislike it, Iesse durst dispute against it.* Wherefore in saying that *Æsopus* and *Roscius were not reputed as infamous persons*, your owne mouth and heart condemne you of gainsaying an vndoubted truth. Much more when you inferre the same of other stage-plaiers; even of the rascalls, the most vile among them, in the reason following. For although the fame, the favour, the wealth of *Roscius* and *Æsopus*, should no more haue moued you to wash away all staine from their credit, then from [l] *Flora* and [m] *Phryne*, who were whores of great fame, favour, wealth: yet their familiaritie with the best and wisest might probably perswade you, that they were not reputed as infamous persons. Howbeit, had you weighed, how [n] the best & wisest so well acquainted with them, had shewed [o] in one of them [p] that other things brought him

[h] Natur. hist. lib 7. cap. 39. & lib. 10. c. 51.
[i] Saturn. lib 3. cap. 14.
[k] D. de his qui non infam. l. 2. parag. ait Prætor.
[l] Lactant. div. instit. lib. 1. cap. 20.
[m] Athenæus dignolo hist. lib 13.
[n] Tullie.
[o] Roscius.
[p] Orat. pro Q. Roscio comœd.

him to ſuch eſtimation, his [q] ſtage-playing was ſome ſtaine vnto him: you ſhould haue perceiued that in this reſpect their credit might bee tainted, notwithſtanding the acquaintance, whereto, by meanes of other parts approved in them, they grew in proceſſe of time with the beſt & wiſeſt. But your next reaſon ſaith as much for the vileſt and moſt beaſtly ſtage-plaiers, as for *Æſopus* and *Roſcius*. For in certaine plaies, called [r] the plaies of *Flora*, the [s] plaiers were not men, but women, and thoſe lewd ones, profeſſed whores and ſtrumpets: which, beſides all wanton filthines of words, did ſhew themſelues naked alſo to the people, and vſed moſt ſhamefull motions and geſtures. Theſe plaies were inſtituted (to vſe your own words) *ad placandos Deos*, [t] that *Flora*, as the *Goddeſſe* of flowers, might bee entreated not to hurt the come, nor any thing that bloweth & bloſſometh: and ſo *they are referred ad religionem & devotionem*. The [u] officers that had the charge to ſet them out, did ſet them out at their private coſt, to get the peoples favour for the obtaining of greater offices: and *ſo they are referred to magnificence*. The [x] ſtages and theaters, wherein men behold them, *were builded by the greateſt and braveſt Romanes with huge charge and ſumptuouſneſſe*. Wherefore ſith the *Romans* would not haue ſuffered ſuch things to bee performed by infamous perſons, being matters of great ſtate and magnificence, and, as they thought, of great devotion and neceſſitie: it followeth, by your reaſon, that they did not iudge profeſſed whores and ſtrumpets to be infamous perſons. Now, if this conſequent touching whores be falſe, as your [y] law ſheweth it is: then is the conſequution of your reaſon faulty. Which your ſelfe may ſee by the other branch thereof, avouched ioint lie, to wit, that *the Romans would not haue ſuffered ſuch things to be done at all, if they had iudged them evill*: & by him, whoſe ſentence, *that it is a vertue* [z] *to ſet out playes brauely*, you adde for the gracing and countenancing of your reaſon, I meane, even by *Ariſtotle*. For he, in reckoning it among magnificent actions, [a] *if any where men thinke they ought to ſet out playes*

[q] Orat. pro P. Quintio.

[r] Ludi Floreales Ovid. Faſtor. lib. 5. Val. Max. l. 2 c. 10.

[s] Mimæ, as they are termed by Val. Max. turba meretricia, by Ov. meretrices, quæ mimorum funguntur officio by Lactantius lib. 1. cap. 20.

[t] Cic. in ver. li. 5. Plin. nat. hiſt lib 18. cap. 29.

[u] Ædiles Cic. de offic. lib 2. Mamerco, homini ditiſſimo, prætermiſſio ædilitatis conſulatus repulſam attulit.

[x] Theatra Scauri, Curionis, Pompeii Pli. nat. hiſt. lib 36. c. 15. Plutarch vit. Pomp. Tertul. de ſpect. ca. 10.

[y] D. de condict. ob turp. vel injuſt cauſ. l. 4 parag. Sed quid D. de ritu. nupt. l. 41

[z] Ludos ſcenicos facere. ἀνδρικῶς ποιοῦντας τὰς παρασκευάς.

[a] *brauely*

brauely (so he qualifieth his sentence with a circumstance of moment omitted by you in alleaging it) respecteth the opinions and customes of the *Grecians*: who thought it an honourable thing to be at charges with furnishing and decking companies of Musitians, of Dancers, of Players, in their solemne feasts, and vsuall processions celebrated to their Gods. As among the *Athenians*, for example sake, [q] *Demosthenes*, when no man of his tribe was willing to beare the charge thereof, did promise of his owne accord that [r] he would beare it, and therevpon provided golden crownes and costlie garments for a companie [s] in the feast of *Bacchus*. This feast [t] had as filthie matters represented, though by another sexe, in the shewes and plaies belonging therevnto, as that of *Flora* had. Yet such was the brutish superstition of Heathens, that [u] *Aristotle* himselfe, one of the best among them, banishing all vnseemely speeches and spectacles out of his common wealth, [x] excepteth such as these done in the honour of their Gods, according to their law, [y] which [z] *allowed that beastlinesse in many cities then.* In like sort the *Romans*, albeit they iudged the things to be evil which the plaiers did in the feast of *Flora*, so evill that [a] the refuse and dregges of the people durst not for shame desire to haue the sight thereof while *Cato* was present: yet did they allow; & by publike order provide for the doing of them, [b] because they thought them pleasant to their divelish Goddesse, whose wrath full plagues they feared, if they should omit them. And thus, for the rest of their plaies also, whether made to pacifie [c] the mother of their Gods, or [d] any of her children, they thought it a necessarie devotion to set them out, a statelie magnificence to set them out brauelie; yet did they repute the plaiers thereof infamous, as *Tullie*, *Livie*, the *Prætor*, *Vlpian*, all consent; though withall discrediting thereby both Gods and plaies, as [e] *Austin* and [f] *Tertullian note*. How much the more strange doth your boldnesse seeme, not only to pronounce that the *Romans* would not haue suffered such things to be performed

q Orat. in Midiam.
r λειτουργήσειν.
ἐν ταῖς Διονυσίοις.
s Herodot. Euterpe & Athenæus Deipnos. lib. 14 ἱλαστὰ & παννυχίσμους, Clem. Alexan. ad hort. ad gent. vers. gent lib. 5.
u Politicor. l. 7 cap. vlt.
Κεφάλαιον περὶ παιδιᾶς, τίς ἡ πρέπουσα καὶ ἐλευθέριος ἑκάστοις.
y Aristot de poetica.
ζ πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ πρέπον διαμένοντα τοιαῦτα.
a Val. Max. l. 2. c. 10 Sen. epist 98
b Quo vemalo mentem concussa? timore Deorũ. Horat. satyr.

lib. 2. sat. 3. c Ludi Megalenses. Liv. lib. 29. & 34. Aug. de civ. D. lib. 2. cap. 4. d Ludi Romani, in honorem Iovis, Iunonis & Minervæ: ludi Apollinares, & 31. &c. e De civ. Dei lib. 2. cap. 13. f De spectaculis cap. 22. Cic. in Verr. lib 5. Liv. lib. 27.

by

by infamous persons; but to say, as bringing a proofe thereof too, that you cannot thinke it, *I cannot thinke that they would haue suffered it.* And can you thinke that this is a seemely thing, or tolerable, in a matter of fact, proued by the vniforme consent of so many & so worthie witnesses, for you to contradict it with these kindes of speeches: *I deny that the Romans ever iudged all stageplayers to be infamous; it is not to be thought that they deemed Æsopus and Roscius infamous; I cannot thinke that they would haue suffered their plaies to be performed by men infamous?* Can you thinke without blushing, how the ancient Fathers conclude by the confession of the *Romans* themselues, [a] one, that plaies are evill, because the *Prætor* noted the players with infamie; an [b] other, that such Gods should not bee worshipped, *because such men were counted infamous who performed the playes that they required*: and you, of the contrarie, denie that such men were counted infamous by the *Romans*, or noted by the *Prætor*; a thing, that no Heathen, amongst all their adversaries (whom I haue ever read of) durst? Can you thinke your students of Christ-church, and others, with whom you haue communicated this reply of yours, to be so weak eie sighted, that they perceaue not, that your selfe, in citing & applying *Tacitus* his words touching *Astrologers* to the point in question, doe confute your selfe, as if God had bereft you almost of common sense, when you went about it? For if you thinke that the *Romans would retaine Astrologers alwaies in their cittie, yet forbid them alwaies*: can you not think that they would haue suffered such things to be done at all, if they had iudged them evill? And if you think plaies to be of that kind, of which they might haue said as *Tacitus* doth of *Astrologers*: can you thinke that they who [c] iudged *Astrologers* worthie of greater punishment, would haue iudged plaiers worthy a note of infamie? I would to God you could think, & think vpō your *bedde* (as the [d] Prophet exhorteth) of your offence herein, your [e] *loving of vanity, your seeking of lyes.* Then would you bee still, and quietly acknowledge that by *Tullie*, *Nepos*, *Laberius*, *Livie*, *Iuvenal*, and other ancient *Romans*, stage-plaiers were taken to be infamous persons, even all, whether they plaied

[a] Tertullian Quanta confessio est malæ rei, quarum actores cùm acceptissimi sint, sine nota non sunt.
[b] S. Augustin. Theatricæ illius turpitudinis qua fronte notatur actor, si adoratur exactor? Proponunt Græci; Si Dij tales colendi sunt, profectò etiã tales homines honorandi sunt. Assumunt Romani Sed nullo modo tales homines honrãdi sunt Cõcludunt Christiani; Nullo igitur modo Dij tales colendi sunt.
[c] Tacit. annal. lib. 2. Vlpian. lib. 7. de offic. Procon. coll. leg Mos & Roman. C. de malef. & mathem lib. 5.
[d] Psal. 4. ver. 4.
[e] Ver. 3.

plaied freely, or for gaine: and therefore not onely the hirelings, but the free too, are comprised and noted in the *Prætors* words. Then would you rather obserue in the reading of your [c] *Glossa communis*, that though *certaine lawyers tooke the Prætor otherwise*, yet certaine tooke him so as well as *Gothofredus*. Then would you deuise more and better reasons for the generall doctrine out of [d] *Iustinians Code*, and [e] *Theodosius* both, then now for the favorable part of your distinctiō you did out of *Iustinianus*; omitting and neglecting that, in [f] the same title, whence that silly single reason was inforced, *stage-players are termed* [g] *vile*, [h] *vnhoneſt perſons*, without all distinction.

It may be that your conscience felt some prick hereof; or at least your knowledge informed you that this would not hold water. Else, why adioine you a new point of defence, that the actors of your plaies are no stage-plaiers? Whereas [i] before your only answere to this point was, that you plaied freely: nor needed there more in your desire to be short (which you pretend often) if you thought it certaine the lawe comprised not free plaiers. But whatsoeuer you thought, when you resolued of hauing two strings vnto your bowe: this new string is worse a great deale then the old was; the hempe is naught whereof you made it. For whereas you denie; that you, *who come on the ſtage once in a yeare, or two, in ſeauen, or in tenne, or ſometime twentie yeares, are to be termed* [k] *ſtage-players; as he is not a wraſtler that ſometime to proue his ſtrength, trieth for a fall or two; nor he a fencer, that ſometime taketh vp the cudgells to play a venny*: First make these similitudes perfect with adding [l] that which answereth to [m] the stage, that they bee not *ſimilia diſſimilia*, (as [n] *Tullie* calleth them) and then hee is a [o] *wraſtler who to proue his ſtrength* on that stage, as it were, doth *trie for a fall or two*; and a [p] *Fencer* likewise, who commeth once thither, though he never come againe; and so are they stage-plaiers, who play vpon the stage once in a yeare or two. Next, the law doth cut off all strife about the name, by noting him with infamie, [q] *who commeth on the ſtage to play, or pronounce*. So that when you acknowledge, that yours come on the stage to this intent and end, you shew that both you

c Ad paragr. Ait Prætor. lib. 2. D. de his qui not infam.
d C. de ſpect. & ſcenicis.
e Lib. 15. cod. Theod. tit. 7.
f De ſpectac. & ſceni. l. 4.
g Vilem hiſtrionem.
h Inhoneſtas perſonas.
i Epilo. Vlyſſ. red. reſpon. ad Mom.
k Scenici, or hiſtriones.
l In arenam. D. de poſtulando lib. 1. § remoret. D. de accuſationib. lib. 4.
m In ſcenam.
n De finib. l. 4.
o Athleta C. deathle. l. un.
p Gladiator. Cic. Philipp. 7. Ovid. Triſt. li. 2. Quintil. declamat. 9.
q Qui in ſcenam prodierit.

wrangle and trifle in denying they are to be termed ſtage-plaiers. As for that you adde, that *you doe differ from them, whom I mentioned, in the maner of your playing, in the end, effects, and other circumſtances, as in the examination of mine examples ſhall appeare*; "the which as I haue alleaged to illuſtrate mine authorities as being the men whom they properly ſpeak againſt; ſo if you ſhew that you are not to be likened to them, neither mine authorities, nor mine examples ſhall touch you: the drift of your ſpeech is to proue, even for the thing too, that you are cleare from that which the law diſgraceth; but with what ſinewes of arguments you doe it, I will (by a more perfect ſimilitude thē yours were) endeavor to make plaine vnto you: [i] *Maximinus*, a ſavage Emperour, a man of a huge, tall, and ſtrong body; tooke a moſt ſottiſh and proud conceit thereof that he could not be killed. Wherevpon a certaine man ſaid in his preſence; *He that cannot be killed by one, is killed by many: The Elephant is great; yet is he killed; The Lion is ſtrong; yet is hee killed: The Tiger is ſwift; yet is he killed: Beware of many ioyned, if ſingle ones you feare not.*

i Iul. Capitoli in Maximinis duobus.

The author of this ſpeech meant to reaſon thus, by way of a ſyllogiſme: *Every liuing creature may be killed: Maximinus the Emperour is a liuing creature: Therefore hee may bee killed.* And leaſt *Maximinus* through his proud conceit ſhould obiect againſt it, that every liuing creature, who could be overmatched by one, might be killed; but it was impoſſible for any one to match him: the author ſaid, that *ſuch as could not be killed by one, might by many*; adding for proof there of that *Elephants, Lions, Tigers, bee they never ſo great, ſtrong, and ſwift, are killed.* Here ſuppoſe that he had withall, in hope of better perſwading *Maximinus*, told him that [k] *Tullie* ſaith *all liuing creatures may be killed: which to bee true in all abſolutely and ſimply*, yea even ſuch as no one can lightly overmatch, [l] *Tullie* ſheweth farther; and [m] *Xenophon*, [n] *Polybius*, [o] *Livie*, [p] *Plinie*, [q] *Plutarch*, doe witneſſe by ſundry ſtories of thoſe beaſts. Now, if *Maximinus* had giuen eare thereto, and anſwered that himſelfe did differ from thoſe beaſts in the manner of his ſtrength, in the end, effects, and other circumſtances:

k De nat. Deor. lib. 3.
l De offic. l. 2.
m De Venat.
n Lib. 5.
o Lib. 21. & 24.
p Nat. hiſt. l. 8. cap. 6. 7. 16. & 17.
q Conjugalib. præcep & vita Pompeij.

ſtances, as it ſhould appeare in examination of the examples; which as the man had cited to illuſtrate his autorities, as being the creatures whom they properly ſpeake of, ſo if *Maximinus* had ſhewed that he was not to be likened to them neither the authorities, nor the examples ſhould touch him; what ſhould the fellow haue done, who did make that argument? Should he haue denied that *Maximinus* differed from Elephants, Lions, Tigers, in the manner of his ſtrength, and the reſt of your circumſtances? How could hee? when he might haue beene controlled ſtraight by *Maximinus* ſaying; *They haue no man to their ſubiects: I rule the whole world; they want helps to ſhield them from wounds; I weare armour: they can hold no ſwordes, or other weapons; I can: they are of low ſtature; I am eleaven foot high.* Should hee haue granted that becauſe it appeareth by thoſe and the like differences, that *Maximinus* was not ſuch a liuing creature as thoſe beaſts were, therefore hee was no liuing creature: neither could hee bee touched either by the examples or by the authorities? That had beene to bewray either feare, or ignorance, and to betray the truth: ſith the authorities reached to the thing in generall; and ſo the examples brought to illuſtrate them did touch *Maximinus* alſo by conſequent. Then belike, albeit the differences, that hee might alleage againſt the authors reaſon had been true all, yet had they all bin idle; as neither diſprouing the major, or the minor, whereof the concluſion doth neceſſary follow. This is the condition and ſtate of your differences, Mr *Gager*; they are not all true, and they are all idle. They are not all true. Nay, is there any of them not vntrue in part? Doubtleſſe not the firſt: wherein you affirme that *you differ from them altogether in furniture, & manner of ſetting out playes: they did it with exceſſiue charge: you thriftily, warily, and almoſt beggerly.* For, I hope, as *Irus* came beggerly in with you; ſo [p] they would haue clothed him in ragges too, and could: and ſuch clokes as they vſed to borrow for braue wooers, coſt [q] them no more the fetching, then yours out of the revils: and exceſſe in charges is meaſured by ability, as [r] *Ariſtotle ſheweth*; the *widow giving two mites, gaue more then all the reſt*: and you in ſpending pence might be more exceſſiue

[p] Horace ſheweth that they ought; de arte poetica: and that they had wherewith to doe it; Epiſt. 7. lib. 1. Vilia vendentem tunicato ſcruta popello.

[q] Chlamydes Lucullus, vt aiunt, Si poſſet centum ſcenæ præberе rogatus, Qui poſſum tot? ait, tamen & quæram, & quot habebo Mittam. poſt paulò ſcribit ſibi millia quinq; eſſe domi chlamydum: partem, vel tollet omnes. Horat. epiſt. l. 1. ep 6.

[r] Ethicor. lib. 4. cap. 1. aut. 2.

[ſ] Mark. 12. 42.

ceſſiue then they in ſpending pounds. Not the ſecond difference, touching the manner of action; whereof you ſay that *they acted their plaies in another ſort then you doe, or can or well knowe how: but ſo exquiſitly and carefully, that you may ſeeme compared with them either for skill, or diligence, rather Recitare, which I doe not diſlike, then Agere.* For *other ſort of playing* you fanſie without ground, ſaying you know not what of things performed *you know not how*: I weene you know not, neither why they who plaied vnwilling and had ſmall liſt to learne it; ſhould be more *skilfull and diligent then yours*: ſure if yours ſhould ſeeme rather *recitare*, which I miſlike not, then *agere*, none of yours plaied [t] drunken, nor [u] danced, nor [x] hurled footſtooles, nor [y] put on womens raiment. Not the third difference, which you ſet in this, that *they came on the ſtage of a lewd, vaſt, diſſolute, wicked, impudent, prodigall, monſtrous humour, you contrariwiſe doe it to ſundry good intents*, as namely (for example) *to conforme your youth to convenient action.* For neither came they all with ſuch a diſpoſition; witneſſe is *Laberius*, witneſſes are others alleaged out of *Dio*; ſo that you ſpeake herein as if *Maximinus* had ſaid that thoſe beaſts, which the fellow mentioned, are of low ſtature, a thing vntrue in [z] Elephants. nor is it more true that you *frame your youth to convenient action*, framing ſome of them to the action of wooers ſome of knaues, ſome of paraſites, ſome of clownes, ſome of drunkards, ſome of bragging ſouldiers, or of the like to theſe, then that [a] *Maximinus* was eleven foot high. Not the fourth difference, wherein (to make a farther profit of the circumſtance that before you vrged againſt the name of ſtage-plaiers) you ſay that *they frequented the ſtage; you doe it ſeldome, ſometime not in ſeaven, tenne or twenty yeares.* For how doe you proue that they whom *Iuvenal, Tacitus, Dio* note, frequented it more then ſome of yours haue? and *Laberius* did it but once in [b] threeſcore yeares, who yet both called himſelf a ſtage plaier for that doing, and counted it a ſtaine vnto him. The fifth offendeth leſſe, affirming that *they did it on the publike theater not of the citty only, but of the whole world: you in a priuate houſe, and to a few, men of vnderſtanding.* Yet looke by

wha-

t In Rivalib.
u Vlyſſred.
x Scabellũ jacit Antinous Act. 2.
y Riv. Vlyſſ. red. & Hippolyt.
z Oppian. de venat. lib. 2. Ælian. de hiſt. anim. l. 12. c.
a Lud. Vertoman. navigat. lib. 4. cap. 10. Pet. Gillius elephanti deſcript. cap. 6.
b Iul. Capitol. in Maximin. duob. Erat magnitudine tanta, vt octo pedes digito videretur egreſſus.
c Ego bis tricenis annis actis ſine nota, Eques Romanus è lare egreſſus meo Domum revertar mimus. Macro. Saturn lib. 2. cap. 7.

what reason you name the *Roman theater, the theater of the whole world*, your should be the theater of *England, France*, and *Ireland*, if not of whole *Europe*, and why say you that you did it to *men of vnderstang*? as if in *Rome* women also had bin present who might behold the lustie motions of the players, and vnderstand not what they speake;[a] none such on your stage. In the sixth you lavish more then in the fourth, saying that *they were men growne, one of them threescore yeares olde, Knights, of noble houses, Patricij, & one of them Emperour of the world*: in you being *young men, boyes, poore Scholers, all these things are quite contrary*. For, touching age, among[b] them who were compelled by Nero to become stage-players, the stories, which I cited, doe record (quite contrarie to your *quite contrary*) that there were not onely[c] *men growne*, and[d] *olde*, but young too; and some of your players came on the stage as olde as[e] *Nero*, your great *Emperour*: touching wealth, the beggerie of those needy squires, whome out of *Iuvenal* and *Tacitus* I specified, hath small contrarietie vnto poore Scholers state: touching birth, and gentrie, you forgott your selfe, when, in saying elsewhere, *The gentleman that played Vlysses*, and setting[f] his verses before your book, you shewed that your players are not quite contrarie to *Patricij*; vnlesse you thinke so meanely of his name, and stock, that a[g] *smokie Lentulus*, or *Fabius*, or *Mamercus*, doth passe it in nobilitie; yea, though it haue learning and Scholership ioyned with it; neither onely passe it, but passe it so farre, that not content to make it differ in degree, you make it quite contrarie, as if it were of the basest of the rascalitie. And seeing these things, specially this last poynt, wherein you must beare with me, if farthermore being taught by[h] *Tullie*, that *Lentulitas*, what shall I terme it? the *Lentulusnes* of noble parentage *is*[i] *nothing in comparison of vertue*; nay, being taught by him, whom *Tullies*[k] light came from, even by the[l] *Father of lights*, *that*[m] *they are most noble who most excell in godlines and graces of the spirit*, I account all Christian

a At siqua forsan iuueni velicet togam, Quidq; hic agatur scire discutiat nimis, &c. And Rogare veniam à fœminis non est opus Prolog. & epilog in Hyppolitum.

b Non nobilitas cuiquam, non æras aut acti honores impedimento, quo minus græci latinine histrionis artem exercerent Tacit annal. lib. 14.

c ἄνδρες.

d γέροντες.

e μειράκια. Dio Neron: in Xiphilin. epit.

f Sueton. Neron. cap. 8. & 11 Tacit. annal. lib. 13. & 14.

g F.S. Actor. Vlyssis ego

h Fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros, Iuvenal. satyr. 8.

i Epistolar ad familiar. lib. 3. 7

k Etiam ne tu has ineptias, vllam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus, quam ornamenta virtutis existimas?

l Prov. 20. 27. Ioh. 1-9.

m Iam. 1. 17. Act. 17. 11.

Scholers and Students, as good and noble gentlemen, as the Heathen *Lentuli*; but seeing these differences do square so from the truth, the rest, which are the same, enlarged and applyed to particular comparisons of certaine of your plaiers with certaine of theirs, must needs be inroled in the same predicament. Howbeit you doe vtter them in such a sort, as if you did not only meane to haue it though, that there is lesse resemblance, & therefore greater difference betweene their plaiers & yours, whom I notwithstanding had compared as like: but also that I should be forced to acknowledg it by mine own confession, and graunt that I was wonderfully overseene therein. For you aske of me (to set downe your owne words:) *Who ever would resemble our Melantho with your Laureolus? the one represented by an ingenuous boy, and for her lewdnesse imagined to bee hanged within: the other acted by Lentulus, a man nobly descended, expressing perhaps openly on the stage the same punishment. What likenes is there betweene our young men, putting on the persons of Antinous, and the rest of Penelopes wooers: and betweene gentlemen of the noble race of Fabius, in their owne persons, not so much counterfeiting others, as expressing their owne scurrilities? Such as our Antinous & the rest of the wooers can not be iustly charged with: no not our Irus, or Ulysses. Againe what resemblance is there betweene our Hippodamia only singing, Eurimachus only saying, Phemius both singing and saying, all three represented by such as they were: and betweene Nero, playing mens, womens, and minstrels parts vpon the stage in Rome?* Behold A marvelous case, that I should compare and resemble plaiers together so absurdly, as no man would ever haue done besides me: and that I should affirme them to be like one an other, betweene whom three is *no likenes, nor resemblance*, as your sharpe vrging doth imply. But perhaps your stomake is the more eger against my comparisons, because of our dissension about the stage and plaies. The partie, that spake in the presence of *Maximinus*, spake [a] vpon the stage, and was a [b] plaier himselfe: it may be you would haue vsed him more gently. For else, had you bin there, and loued *Maximinus* you might (which I marvell if you thinke not absurd) haue answered thus

g Quintilian. lib. 9. cap. 2. Interrogamus, quod negari non possit,

a In theatro. b Scurra mimus Iul Capitolin. In whom it is printed, minus by error, for mimus, as I take it.

thus in his behalfe. *Who euer would resemble Maximinus to an Elephant? the one a man wellfeatured, and feeding very daintily within doores in his palace, the other a beast, a* [b] *thicke skinne hauing a* [c] *nose an* [d] *ell long, and* [e] *eating grasse perhaps without doores on the mountaines. What likenes is there between him, our Emperor, a most gratious personage, and of sweet conditions and betweene a Tigre, a* [f] *cruell sauage beast, wearing a haire of sundry colours, speckled, spotty? Such as our Emperour hath none vpon his body: no, nor the like pawes, or* [h] *taile. Againe what resemblance is there betweene him, excelling in all three things, greatnes, strength and sweetnes: & between an Elephant, great and strong only; a Tigre strong and swift; a Lion hauing little to trust to beside strength?* Thinke you that you had spoken with any graine of salt, Mr Dr *Gager*, if you had spoken thus? Though I haue disaduantaged my selfe in this similitude: because both your *Melantho* was a great deale liker to *Iuvenals Laureolus*, your wooers and the rest to those degenerate gentlemen, then *Maximinus* was to beasts: and I haue scarce put one false difference in mine, of *Maximinus* sweet conditions; you haue put many in yours. For, to passe over the *ingeniousnesse of the boy that represented Melantho*, opposed to the *noblenes of Lentulus who did act Laureolus*, the vnlikenesse whereof in noblenes, and acting, is disproued already; chiefly sith [i] things that are not the same, may be like: first, what proofe haue you, that [k] they, whom *Iuvenal* noted vnder the name of *Faby*. did not so much counterfeit others. which your wooers did, *as expresse their owne scurrilities*? When contrariwise some of them would haue *hid their faces with* [l] *visours for shame that they might not be knowne, as counting the infamy thereof worse then death*: a very great presumption, that they did abhorre from expressing their own scurrilities on the stage, whom it grieved so much to come on the stage at all.

Next, what wrong is it to charge your *Antinous*, and other of the wooers, with *such scurrilities*, as theirs? were not the [m] plaies that they plaied made of like arguments, in like sort,

[b] Plin. nat. hist. lib. 8. cap. 10. & lib. 11. c. 39.
[c] So is his proboscis termed by Aristotle. de hist. ani lib. 2. cap. 1. and by Oppian, de venat. lib 2.
[d] Or two yardes some of them with the advantage Pet Gillius elephas descripc cap. 5. & 6.
[e] Iob. 40. 15.
[f] Virg. Geor. lib. 2. Ovid. epist. 10.
[g] Plin. nat hist. lib. 8. cap. 17. Oppian. de venat. lib. 1. & 3.
[h] Δολιχόζωσος ὑπὸ Oppian. lib. 3. de venat.
[i] Nullum simile est idem you know.
[k] The gentlemen of noble houses which Dio specifieth: and τὰ φάσματα among them namely.

[l] προσωπεῖα δι' ἃ μὴ γνωρίζοιντο, ἐφίλουν. Dio. Neron. [m] Iuvenal. 1. Sueton Ner. cap. 24. Dio. Ner.

to yours? Is not *Antinous* set forth by [n] *Homer*, as a malapert [*] knaue? to speake in [o] *Horaces phrase*, of him and his complices. Doe [p] you not follow *Homer*, and expresse *Antinous* with the rest accordingly, both in their misbehauiour of words and deeds? Thirdly? doe you know what is meant in *Iuvenal* by *planipedes Fabios*, when I hauing said that *the race of Fabius resembled & counterfaited such base ridiculous things as are expressed in Irus*, you deny *that he may be iustly charged with such*? And if you know that they, who were termed [q] *Planipedes*, counterfeited such things as [r] *Laberius* did when he *put on the person of a bondslaue whipped*: are you not ashamed to deny that *such are expressed in Irus*, a begger buffeted, throwne down, & [s] haled out by the feete, the wooers laughing thereat? Finally, why are not the *blowes*, in your tragedie, giuen to *Vlysses*, like the [t] *Mamercians writers* that *Iuvenal* speaketh of? you thinke them not so bad. I thinke them worse rather. For whirrets, that he speaketh of, were giuen with the hand. Your *Vlysses* is [u] stroken with *Melantheus* heele, and [x] with *Antinous* foote-stoole: vnlesse *Antinous* hurling it did misse the marke, and plaied not his part as you appointed him out of [y] *Homer*. Thus are your differences all vertue, in part: in whole, a number of them. But suppose they were true. Yet are they all idle: because as in the fellowes speech to *Maximinus*, the *maior* being proved that *all liuing creatures may be killed*, whether one or many be able to surprise them; the *minor* apparant, that *he was a liuing creature*; the conclusion followed. notwithstanding whatsoeuer differences betweene him, and them. whose examples were brought to proue the *maior*: likewise in my reason, the *maior* being proued, that *all stage-plaiers are infamous by the civill law, whether they play for gaine or freely*; the *minor* apparant that they who play your plaies on the stage, are stage-plaiers; the conclusion followeth, notwithstanding whatsoeuer differences betweene yours, and them whose examples for proofe of the *maior* I produced. Nay, I say farther, that as some true differences between *Maximinus*, and the beasts, doe sharpen the edge of the conclusion against him; for if [z] greater, stronger, and swifter creatures

n Odyss. lib. 17 18. 20. 21. & 22.
* Sponsi Penelopæ nebulones.
o Epist. li. 1. ep 2.
p Epist. ad Criticum.
q Diomedes gramma lul. Scalig. poeti. lib. 1. cap. 10.
r Macr. Satur. lib. 2. cap. 7.
s Pedibus Itũ extrahit, ridentibus procis Vlyss red. act 2.
t Mamercorũ alapas.
u Vlyssem calce ferit.
x Scabellum jacit.
y Θρωυν βαλ' ἁλλοτε ἄλλον ἀνωγὼς ἀγυιὰ πάσσαλα νάσσαι. Odyss lib. 17.

z Plin. nat hist. lib 8. cap 4. Viribus, magnitudine, velocitate præstantiores.

tures are killed, how much more might he be? ſo for you to be ſtage-plaiers it is more ſhamefull then for the old *Romans*, ſith they were [t] *ignorant*, [u] *infidels*, [x] *without God in the world*; you are Schollers, Chriſtians, choſen to be trained vp vnto the Miniſterie; and [y] *vnto whom much is committed, the more ſhall be required of him*; [z] they who *haue many ſinnes forgiuen them*, ſhould *loue much*; it is a great offence [a] to *giue the Nazarites wine to drinke*, though to [b] *drinke wine be not* vnlawfull.

t Eph. 4.18.
u 2 Cor. 4.4.
x Eph. 2.12.
y Lu. 12.48.
z Lu. 7.47.
a Amos 2.12.
b 1 Tim. 5.23.

Wherefore that of *Terence* wherewith you conclude, ſaying that *you thinke it was a fowle ſhame for noble men and Nero to play, but to play noble men or Nero it is no ſhame for you*; as [c] *hee ſaith in the Comedy, Duo cum idem faciunt, ſæpe, vt poſſis dicere, Hoc licet impune facere huic, illi non licet; Non quod diſſimilis res ſit, ſed quod is qui facit*: although you ſtraiten the point (whether for ſhame, or for the figure?) when you ſpeake of *playing noble men and Nero*, your purpoſe being to iuſtify the playing of the [d] baſeſt, drunkards, & [e] whoores too; but if *Terences* ſaying would fit the point in queſtion, the vſe thereof muſt be to proue that *they might lawfully come on the ſtage*, you may not. The truth is that it cannot be applied hereto, becauſe [f] the law ſpeaketh generally of *ſtage-plaiers*, as it doth of *bawdes*, of *theeues*, with the like, and common ſenſe doth teach vs that [g] *we may not diſtinguiſh where the law diſtinguiſheth not*. Elſe, if I ſhould ſay that by the ſame law our *Engliſh theeues*, who rob on *Gaddes hill*, are infamous; one of their abbetters might anſwere, *No not ſo for the law ſpeaketh of ſuch as* [h] *Lucius Tubulus, men of wealth and ſtate, who robbed the whole world repaired vnto Rome; not of poore good fellowes that robbe a few Kentiſh men travailing to graues-end: and I thinke it was a fowle ſhame for rich men and Tubulus to robbe; but to robbe rich men and Tubulus, it is no ſhame for vs: as he ſaith in the Comedy, that oftentimes, you may ſay, when two men doe the ſame thing, the one is not blameworthy for it, the other is, not as if there were difference in the thing it ſelfe, but in the man that doth it.* Which *Comicall* ſentence though it might be as well applyed by *Iuſtice Graybeard* to the excuſe of theft in poore men, as by *Terences* [i] *Mitio* it is to the excuſe of whore-

c Ter. Adelph. act 5. ſcen. 3.
d Rivalib.
e Vlyſſied.
f L. 1. D. de his qui not infa.
g Vbi lex non diſtinguit, nec nos diſtinguere debemus. Gloſſ. ad li. 8. D. de Public. in rem act. lib. 9. parag. quod autem D. de aleatoribus.
h Aſc. Pædia. in Cic. orat. pro Æm. Scaur.
i Non eſt flagitium (mihi crede) adoleſcentulum ſcortari. Act. 1. ſcen. 2.

whordom in a young man; yet were it vniustly applyed there-vnto: because the law condemning theft in whomsoever without respect of persons, be they rich or poore, doth count it none of those things which fall within the compasse of *Terences* [k] *oftentimes*. So considering, stage-players are spoken of in like sort, as theeues, by the law: you see how *Terences* saying may be applied vnto them. But if wee might apply it vnto them iustly, we must inferre thereof that it was no shame for *Nero* & his mates to come on the stage, for you it is: as *S. Paul* commandeth vs [h] *not to eat with any that is called a brother if he be a fornicater*; which, [i] with an infidell committing the same filthinesse, he doth not forbid. And thus while you endevour to vnwind your selfe out of the net of ignominie & infamie cast vpon you by the civill law, you are bound faster in it: to the fulfilling of that proverbe, which I wish you had marked in the [k] *Comedie* rather, if not in the [l] *Scripture*, *It is hard to kicke against pricks*.

[k] Sæpe Duo quum idem faciunt, sæpe &c.

[h] 1 Cor. 5. 11.

[i] vers. 10.

[k] Ter. Phorm. act. 1. scen. 2.

[l] Act. 9. 5.

In the second head, to a reason drawn out of the law of God for the reproofe of stage-plaies as now you handle it, denying that you made it to proue that men may lawfully put on womens raiment therein, as I tooke it; though how iust cause I had to take it so, I haue declared; but vnto this reason grounded on the [n] law of God in *Deuteronomie*, *Whatsoeuer man doth put on womens raiment he is abominable vnto the Lord; But men did put on womens raiment in your plaies; you must acknowledge therefore that you were iustly blamed*: you reply in like sort as vnto the former of the civill law; first, that the prohibition of men to weare womens raiment is not generall, but toucheth certaine cases only; next, that your plaiers did not weare womens raiment. And because in treating of the prohibition I shewed out of the *Scriptures*, that it doth belong not to the ceremoniall law, but to the morall; and no part of the morall law may be transgressed, no, not for the saueing of honour, wealth or life: my proofes hereof being so cleare, strong and pregnant, that you durst not deny the thing to bee proved, you moue a doubt, as your terme is, out of words of mine, in deed you reason thus against it. *I pray you giue mee*

[n] Deut. 22. 5.

leaue

leaue to propose my contrary doubt. The morall law as you truly say, is the law of loue and charity; to the which Whereſoeuer the ceremoniall law is repugnant, there it giueth place to the morall. The morall law therefore is neuer contrary to loue and charity, in commanding or forbidding any thing. But the place of Deuteronomie, being taken ſtrictly, abſolutely, and in the rigor of the letter, may ſometimes hinder the actions of loue and charity, both towards our ſelues and others; and in thoſe caſes, which both you and I propoſe. Ergo in that ſtrictnes it belongeth rather to the law ceremoniall, though the equitie thereof pertaineth to the law morall, and ſo it is perpetually and ſimply to be obſerued. Now. I haue giuen you leaue to propoſe your contrary doubt: I pray you giue me leaue to propoſe my contrary queſtion. In the ſame booke of *Deuteronomie* it is written, [n] *Thou ſhalt not kill Thou ſhalt not commit adulterie.* Theſe precepts *being taken ſtrictly, abſolutely, and in the rigor of the letter, may ſometimes hinder the actions of loue and charity, both towards our ſelues and others*; as appeareth by the example of *Ioſeph*, and of *David*: *Ioſeph*; who [o] loſt his liberty and put his life in hazard, becauſe [p] he refuſed to commit adultery with his maſters wife, *David*, who [q] caſt his followers and himſelfe into ſundry dangers and diſtreſſes, becauſe [r] he would not kill *Saul*. Herevpon I aske you, whether you thinke, that ſeeing the morall law bound *Ioſeph* & *David* to [ſ] *loue their neighbours & themſelues*, therefore they ſhould haue made no ſcruple of adultery and murder in theſe caſes, in which the forbearing thereof did hinder the actions of loue toward themſelues and others: but ought to haue iudged thoſe precepts in that ſtrictnes to belong rather to the law ceremoniall, though the equitie thereof pertaineth to the law morall, and ſo it is perpetually & ſimply to be obſerued. Which if you thinke not, as God forbid you ſhould, and you will profeſſe (as I am perſwaded) that you deteſt ſuch thoughts: then doe you acknowledge that it came rather of a luſt to croſſe and contradict my ſpeech then of any doubt you had within your ſelfe, and you ſay, a precept, which being ſtrictly kept might breed ſome diſaduantage to our ſelues or others, muſt in this reſpect be counted ceremoniall,

n Deut. 5. 17.

o Gen. 39. 20.
p verſe 12.
q 1 Sam. 26. 2. & 27. 2.
r 1 Sam 24. 7. and 26. 9.
ſ Lev. 19. 18. Mat 19. 19. Ephe. 5. 28.

and not be kept ſtrictly, becauſe *the morall law is neuer contrary to loue and charity in commanding or forbidding any thing.* And ſure you might haue reaſon to take it not well, if I ſhould ſuppoſe you to be ſo ill catechized, as that you knew not that the moral law commandeth vs to [t] loue God aboue all things, and man after him; that [u] our loue to Godward is proued by the obſeruing and keeping of the commandements; that if by keeping of them we ſhould ſeeme to hate man, we muſt [x] hate him rather, then not performe our loue to God: that it followeth not hereof *the Law is contrary vnto loue neither,* becauſe to hate man ſo is to [y] loue him leſſe then God in compariſon, and not indeed to hate him; nay, it is to loue him, ſith it is to wiſh him & worke him [z] greater good by loſſe of leſſe good which he can not retaine therewith. Howbeit, had you doubted, yet might you haue found enough to reſolue you, if you had read my writing rather with a minde to learne, then to gainſay, in as much as I ſhewed by *Scripture* touching *Peter,* that hee ſhould not haue lyed to auoid the danger of whatſoeuer trouble: becauſe *to lye is euill, not allowed in any caſe by our law-giuer, no not for the defence of the glory of God, much leſſe for the ſafetie of man, a worme.* Or, if, notwithſtanding all that this could teach you, there might ſome occaſion of doubting ſtill remaine: ſhould you not haue ſought rather to be reſolued by me in priuate conference, then publike in writing (made common with many, euen in the country alſo, not only in our Vniuerſity) to affirme a point implying flat atheiſme, that we are no farther to keepe Gods commandements, then ſtands with our commodity? And ſo concluſiuely to vouch it with an *Ergo,* as if it did follow neceſſarily, that all the lawes of God (for your reaſon holdeth by conſequent in all) muſt be ſet aſide, like ceremoniall matters, when our owne or other mens, honour, wealth or life, cometh in queſtion with them? And to adde that *the equitie thereof yet pertaineth to the law morall, & ſo they are perpetually and ſimply to be obſerued;* which ſeemeth by diſtinguiſhing their *equity* from *ſtrictneſſe* to ſtrengthen the in ſound meaning; in deed deſtroyeth them by teaching their tranſgreſſors how to defend moſt groſſe iniquity: as idolaters, for

t Deut. 6.5. Mat. 22.37.
u Deut 6.6. Ioh. 14.15.
x Gen. 22.2. Luk. 14.26.
y Mat 10.37.
z Mat. 16.26. Rom. 8.13. 2 Cor. 4.17.

for example, when, if [a] *Nabuchodonoſor* doe threaten hee will *burne all who worſhip not his golden image*, they may ſay, that *albeit in Deuteronomie God ſaith*, [b] *Thou ſhalt not bow downe to them, nor worſhip them, yet ſith the morall law is never contrary to loue in forbidding any thing, and the place of Deuteronomie, being taken ſtrictly, would hinder now mens actions of loue toward themſelues; Ergo in that ſtrictnes it belongeth rather to the law ceremoniall, though the equitie thereof pertaineth to the law morall, and ſo it is perpetually and ſimply to bee obſerued.* A ſentence ſo vngodly, that when *Peter* onely touched it a farre off, or rather leſſe then touched it, ſpeaking of a particular caſe-no generall law; nor *Ergoing* againſt it, nor terming the keeping of it *ſtrictneſſe*, nor plaiſtering the breach of it with *equitie*: but when he tended towards it by ſaying to our Saviour, [c] *Maſter pittie thy ſelfe, this ſhall not be vnto thee*, our Saviour anſwered him, *Get thee behinde me, Satan, thou art an offence vnto me, becauſe thou ſauoreſt not the things that are of God, but the things that are of men.*

a Dan 3 6.

b Deut 5.9.

c Mat. 16.22.

Sutable to this new argument of yours is the defence of your olde (the onely one you preſſed before) from two examples. For whereas you had reaſoned thus, *Some men of Macedonie, moued by Prince Alexander, did put on womens raiment to ſaue the honour of Ladies; the like did Achilles, the ſonne of Thetis, to ſaue his life; Ergo it is lawfull to doe it in ſuch caſes*; and I made anſwere thereto, that the reaſon is naught, becauſe *we are to line by lawes, not by examples; neither may we lye or forſweare our ſelues to ſaue our liues, or benefit others*, though *David* and *Peter* did ſo, men worthier to be followed then *Macedonians*, or *Achilles*: you reply, that the reaſon is good (this muſt you meane by ſaying that *the examples are alleaged to good purpoſe in the circumſtances that you apply them for*, or elſe you delude vs with another ſophiſme); and why? *For Alexanders fact is commended* (ſay you) *as proceeding from a moſt noble, and true heroicall minde; and becauſe it was better that the Perſian Embaſſadors were ſlaine, then that the chaſtities of ſo many great Ladies ſhould ſo ſhamefully be either ouerthrowne, or ſo much as aſſailed: and Thetis might well hide her ſonne Achilles*

in a maidens apparell in respect of motherly loue and pitty which she was to beare her sonne, knowing, as she did, that hee should bee slaine in that iourney to Troy, whether hee was requested to accompanie the other Grecian Lords. Touching the former whereof, to admit, that *Alexanders fact proceeded from a noble true heroicall minde,* and that it was *better the Persians Embassadors were slaine, then the chastities of so many great Ladies should so dishonourably be overthrowne, or assailed*: yet doth it not follow that men might therefore lawfully put womens raiment on to kill them; the thing might be convenient & good to bee done, the meanes of doing it not good. As * it is *better that a person guilty should be left vnpunished, then a person guiltlesse should bee condemned*: and [a] hee, whose saying this was, spake it of a noble true heroicall minde. Yet were the meanes naught to procure by bribes or by false witnesses the escape or acquittall of a guiltie person: and if any man, who had vsed such dealing, should be commended for it, hee should bee commended amisse in that respect, as *Alexander* is by you. Now, for the latter, how proue you that *Thetis might well hide her sonne Achilles, as she did?* You say, that *you thinke not but shee might doe it well,* So. Your reason then is: *I thinke shee might doe it well; Ergo she might.* A common kinde of argument with you; but thinne, and leane: nor likely to proue better at the length in triall, of whatsoever plight it seeme in your writing. For let it fare as it may in *Topicks*, in *Analytickes* it must fast: it cannot away with *moode* and *figure*. And what if you thinke not that *shee might* neither? as I thinke you doe not; vnlesse you thinke contraries, or speake otherwise then you thinke. For your selfe affirme, that *the putting on of womens raiment which is termed an abomination to the Lord in the place of Deuteronomie, is the wearing of it ordinarily, so to converse among men and women, against the course of all naturall and civill regard.* But *Thetis*, intending thereby to hide *Achilles*, did cloth him to converse so ordinarily among men and women: even longer, then he would endure to converse so; though [b] hee endured for certaine yeares. Therefore that, which shee did, you thinke to bee abominable: yea, pronounced in Scripture an *abomination*

* Satius est impunitum relinqui facinus nocentis, quàm innocentem damnari.

[a] Trajan the Emperour lib. 19. D. de pœnis.

[b] Statius Achilleid. lib. 2. Natum ante pedes projecit. Neoptolemum. De quo Virg. Æneid. lib. 2. Apollod. de orig. Deor. l. 3.

abomination to the Lord. The leſſe materiall is it whether that be true which by the way I noted, that *Statius* the Poet making *Chiron, Calchas*, and *Achilles* himſelfe to reproue the putting of that raiment on him, meant that men of wiſe, vertuous, religious, ingenuous, valiant minds, did iudge the thing ſimply in any caſe vnlawfull by the light of nature. Though I wiſh our iudges, vnto whoſe arbitrement I referre the matter, whether you controll me therein well, or no, to marke that for *Chiron*, in whom are repreſented wiſe and vertuous perſons, albeit you affirme *hee had a farther reach then his words outwardly import:* yet in ſetting downe that *reach* you adde, *perhaps*, as ſtaggering at your owne conceit; and withall acknowledge that *his words outwardly*, whereof you cannot proue another inward meaning, import as much as I ſaid. Beſide that they may iuſtly ſuſpect your partiall cenſure, becauſe, where I had likewiſe noted by the way that the fact of *Achilles*, deflowring *Deidamia* by meanes and occaſion of his converſing ſo with her, doth ſhew what inconvenience and danger of vncleanneſſe cleaueth to the cladding of men in womens raiment: you doe ouerthwartly & wrongfully croſſe my note by ſaying that *hee was likely to doe as much in his own likeneſſe any where elſe.* For let malefactors bee never ſo ready to practiſe any wickednеſſe of their owne corrupt and lewd inclination: the circumſtances of manner, ſeaſon, place, and ſo forth, commodious to performe it doe more entiſe them therevnto. *Weapons themſelves* (ſaith [c] *Homer*) *doe draw men to fight:* and [*] *opportunitie maketh theeues.* The force whereof in this thing I ſaid enough to open by that, as [f] *Cherea* could not haue defiled *Pamphila*, no not in *Thais* houſe, without his *Eunuches* raiment: ſo, if womans raiment had not come on, *Clodius, Caſar* ſhould not haue put away his wife *Pompeia* ſo ſoone as he did; perhaps never. Or are you of opinion that with vs it skilleth not whether ſchollers lodge in Colleges & Halls or in Townеſmens houſes? Yea, although they bee neither ſo much converſant, nor goe in like attire, as *Achilles* vſed with *Lycomedes* daughter? Our Saviour ſaid to his Diſciples, [h] *If thy foot cauſe thee to offend, cut it off; if thine eye cauſe thee to offend, plucke it*

[c] Odyſſ. l. 18. Ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶν ἀνθρώπους ἐπέγειρε.

[*] Occaſio facit furem.

[f] Ter. Eun.

[g] Sueton. Iulio, cap. 74. Plutarch. vit. Cæſ. & Cicer.

[h] Mark. 9. 45.

out

out: meaning that wee must sever our selues from things and persons that are most deare vnto vs, if they be an occasion vnto vs of sinne, and hinder vs in the way of life. Yet a man that had heard him with your disposition, might haue said, *What needs it? Seeing though we cut off one foot, or plucke out one eye, the other is likely to cause vs to offend.* Vpon *Moses* words in *Genesis*, touching *Dina*, that [i] *she went out to see the daughters of that countrey, and Sichem ravished her*, [k] godly learned interpreters obserue that her wandering & idle curiositie is noted and reproued as an occasion of the villanie that was done vnto her. Yet a gadding humour and wanton eye of maidens loth to follow S. [l] *Pauls* rule and *keepe at home*, might say that such teachers are puritans, who can not abide whitson-ladies: for *Sichem* was likely to doe as much to *Dina*, though shee had kept at home in her fathers house, and never come in *Sichems* sight. The very fact in question, whereon you mislike that I made this note of such occasions and entisements, hath the same observed therein by the [m] Poet, the wise reporter of it: namely, that *Achilles* lust was first kindled by seeing *Deidamia*; afterward encreased by conversing with her; and finally accomplished by cōming through the fallacie of his attire, like a woman, [n] whether else in likenesse of a man hee could not. But whatsoever *Statius* iudged of the matter, or others shall iudge of that I noted by the way; you grant it was abominable by the law of God, for *Thetis* to put womans raiment on her sonne *Achilles*, as she did. And so you haue rather confirmed, then confuted, mine answere to your argument from the two examples of *Macedonians* and *Achilles*. You come in now anew with halfe a dozen more: three of men, attiring themselues in womens raiment; three of women in mens. And quoting [o] their names only in your margent, you say that *if you had thought that these two examples should not haue beene taken in your meaning, that is, onely in the circumstance for the which you alleaged them, you could haue vsed many true stories of both sexes, to the which no such exceptions could haue beene taken.* Wherein, to passe over, that by giving the name of *true* to those *stories*, you make it very probable that you meant before

i Gen 34.1.
k Calvin. Marlorat. Pet. Martyr.
l Tit. 26.
m Statius Achilleid. lib. 1.
n Lex procul. ire mares: iterat præcepta verendus Ductor, inaccessumq; viris edicitur antrum. Nec satis est: stat fine dato metuenda sacerdos, exploratque aditus; nequis temerator oberret Agmine fæmineo: Tacitus subrisit Apollo.
o Eucl. Mega. Theop. Rex Spar. Antenor Cepha. Euphrosyna virgo Antioch. Theod. virgo & Martyr. Eugenia Romana.

n before vnder the name of *stories*, the fable of *Achilles*, as I supposed you did by the drift of your words (speaking first in generall of o *stories* proving p two points; then bringing q one in speciall to proue the one of them, r *Achilles* to proue the other) which yet you deny to haue beene your meaning, and charge mee with vntruth in effect for saying it: you doe farther charge mee that *I haue not taken those two examples in your meaning*. No haue? Why? Meant you not by them to conclude, that *a man may lawfully put on womens raiment, to saue his life, or benefit many, because in such cases Achilles and the Macedonians did put on such raiment*? And haue not I expressely set this reason downe, affirming it to be your reason, and making mine answere accordingly thereto? Yes: but I haue also in mine answere to it noted other circumstances of the same examples, therby to make plainer the badnes of your reason: and so *I haue not taken them in your meaning, that is*, (as you expound it) *onely in the circumstance for the which you alleaged them*. You are a merry man, and not much vnlike in this respect to one, who when hee had taken vp a waster and buckler in Cheapside at London to play with an apprentice, & the apprentice rapped him, sometime vpon the head, sometime vpon the elbow, or shoulder or side, he cast them downe againe; saying, that *if he had thought that the apprentice would not haue stroken vpon his buckler still, hee would not haue plaid with him*. Yet in this you varie from the vaine of his speech, that you say *you could haue vsed many true stories of both sexes, to the which no such exceptions could haue beene taken*. Though you helpe your selfe no more by this varying, then if his skill had served him to haue warded all the blowes with his buckler; his weaknes being neverthelesse vnable to resist, but that he might haue had his buckler beaten about his eares. For what if no such exceptions could be taken against your six examples? Doth not the same answere that I made to your reason from the *Macedonians* example, and *Achilles*, beat downe these also to the ground: sith none of them is equall to *David*, or to *Peter*, whose actions notwithstanding are no sufficient warrants for vs? Moreover, as in beheading of noble personages,

n Vlyss. red. resp. ad Momum.

o Id quod crebra testari potest Histor.

p Quid si cogeret lethi metus Mutare vestem? publicum quid si bonum suaderet?

q Veste filius Amyntæ indui Iuvenes muliebri dum jubet, tot fæminis Claris pudorem servat.

r Vitam tuetur filius Thetidis suam

that are traitours, the executioner, hauing cut off their heads, doth hold them vp in his hands, and shew them to the people: so I, hauing thus beheaded, as it were, these your six examples, I meane, the reason drawne from them, perhaps (notwithstanding your confident assertion that *no such exceptions can bee taken against them*) might hold them vp in my hands, and shew that they are dead, by the like or more absurd consequutions from other circumstances thereof. For example, in one or two, the chiefest of them, the first of each sexe, *Euclides*, and *Euphrosyna*; the story of *Euclides* is, that when the [o] *Athenians* having their neighbours of *Megara* in great hatred, had decreed that if any of the men of that cittie were found within *Athens*, he should suffer death: *Euclides* being of it, and loth to lose the benefit of the schoole of *Socrates*, with whom hee vsed to be at *Athens*, and to heare him, before that lawe was made, did cloath himselfe in womans attire towards evening; went from his house in *Megara* to *Athens*, vnto *Socrates*; enioyed his speech and conference some part of the night time; and when day approached, returned home againe a little more then twentie miles in the same attire.

[o] A. Gel. noct. Att. lib. 6. c. 10.

Now, if this were lawfully done, because hee did it: then [p] *William Bishop of Ely*, who, to saue his honour and wealth, became a [q] greene-sleeues, going in womans raiment lesse way then twenty miles, from *Dover* castle to the Sea side, did therein like a man; although the women of *Dover*, when they had found it out by plucking downe his muffler and seeing his new shauen beard, [r] called him a monster for it: then with vs a scholler, who thinketh of some man, as *Euclide* did of *Socrates*, and and cannot well frequent his house in the day time for suspitiō of lewdnesse with his *Xanthippe*, or of Popery, may come like a maiden thither in the night: then our Vniversitie Statute of night-walkers would be taken away, for qualified at least; and if our Proctors meet one like a woman at midnight, they must not be suspicious; some studious youth, it may bee, come from *Wickam* or *Beaconsfield*, and daring not to travaile by day for theeeues through Shotouer, is going to some learned man. In like sort, touching *Euphrosyna*, a maid of *Alexandria*, (of *Antioche*

[p] Mat. Paris hist. Ang. in Ricardo pri.

[q] Tunica viridi fœmmea indutus; capū habens eiusdē coloris, peplū in capite muliebre, portans

[r] Mulierculæ clamorem ad sidera tollentes, Venite, inquiunt, & lapidemus hoc monstrū quod sexum vtrumq; deformavit.

Antioche [f] you name her, by slippe of penne or memorie) the storie is, that [t] shee, desiring much to liue in an Abby like a monke, [u] forsooke not only her father, who had brought her vp to be a staffe in his old age, a comfort in his weaknesse to him; but also a [x] worthie, noble, vertuous gentleman, to whom she was betroathed; clad in mans apparell she came vnto the Abbot; & being asked of him *who shee was, from what place, & for what cause she came*, she answered, that [y] *her name indeed was Smaragdus, and shee was of the Emperours Court, and came to that Abbey to lead a holy life, if shee might bee admitted*; and so finding favour to be admitted as a man, she liued there [z] eight and thirty yeares in mans apparell. Whereof if you inferre againe, as you doe, *Euphrosyna did it, Ergo lawfull*; a better proofe, I grant, then, *Achilles did it, or Macedonians did it*, because they were prophane men, [a] *Euphrosyna* is a Saint; but as you reason thus: likewise may another in the same *mood and figure*; *Euphrosyna*, through a desire of *Monkish perfection, refused to honour her father*; *Ergo* [b] *Christ did wrongfully checke the Scribes an Pharises for breaking Gods commandements to keepe traditions of men*: *Euphrosyna chose rather to be with others then with him to whom she was betroathed*; *Ergo Moses erred in teaching that a* [c] *maid betroathed is a* [d] *wife, & that* [e] *the wife should cleaue inseparably to her husband*: *Euphrosyna lyed for a vantage*; *Ergo S*[t] [f] *Iohn was a precisian, who condemneth all lyes*: *Euphrosyna conversed in mens apparell, amongst men, eight and thirtie yeares*; *Ergo D*[r] *Gager mistooke the place of Deuteronomie, when he gaue it this meaning, that to goe attired so ordinarily is abomination to the Lord*. See you now what manner of *true stories*, if true al, you could haue vsed of *both sexes*? and how bold you were in saying that no *such exceptions could be taken to them* as to the former? To which notwithstanding, were it as you say, you doe no more helpe your argument thereby, then if a traitour being beheaded, whom you favoured, you staied the executioner from holding vp his head, & sowed it on againe your selfe to his body with close and handsome stitches. For although no such exceptions could be taken to any of your examples, yet had I beheaded

f Euphrosyna virgo Antioch
g Sim. Metaphrast. vit. S. Euphrosynes Alexand. apud Surium, de probat Sanct. histor. Tom. 1.
h Cur me tuã parentem lugentẽ & tristẽ reliquisti? Nõ te ad hanc spẽ alebam, sed vt haberẽ baculum senectutis, solatium imbecillitatis meæ.
i Pater vni qui præstabat omnibus, opibus, gloria, & virtute, despondit puellam.
k Se vocari quidem Smaragdum: esse autẽ ex aula imperatoris.
l Triginta & octo annos.
m Martyrolog Roman. Ianuar. 1. Græcor. menolog. Cæs Baron. notat. in martyrolog Roman.
n Mark. 7. 9.
o Deut. 28. 23.
p Vers. 24.
q Gen. 2. 24.
r 1. Ioh. 2. 21.

with [r] *the sword of Gods word* the reason drawne from them: and with *Iustinians* sword too, in that I adioyned for your sake out of your law, that *we are to liue by lawes, not by examples*: & to [t] *looke, not so much what is done any where, as what ought to be done.*

Heb. 4. 13.

t Non tam spectandum est quid Romæ factum sit quàm quid fieri debeat. lib. 31. D. de Officio Præsid.

Herevnto you adde another new argument to shew that the place of *Deuteronomie* toucheth certaine cases only, not generally forbiddeth a man to put on womans raiment: and that is, the opinion and iudgement of *Diuines*. For after you had delivered these expositions of it, as liked by your selfe, that to *weare such raiment of a lewd intent, the rather thereby, and the more safely to be in the company of women to bring some bad purpose about; or of an effeminate minde to suffer his haire to growe long, or to frizell it; or in speech, colour, gate, gesture, and behauiour to become womanish; or ordinarily so to converse among men and women, against the course of all naturall, and civill regard, is abomination to the Lord*: and noted it moreouer to bee expounded by others thus, that *women are forbidden to put on the armour of men, and men the raiment of women, because at that time it was superstitious, in as much as among the Gentiles women were mens armour in the sacrifices of Mars, and men wore womens ornaments and instruments, as distaffe, spindle, and such like, in the sacrifices of Venus; and therefore is it added that he who doth so is abominable to God because abomination is taken in the Scriptures commonly for idolatrie, or some thing belonging to idolatrie*: but after you had set downe these expositions, you say that all the [z] *Diuines whom ever you talked with of this matter, doe affirme the true meaning of that place to bee contained in these senses rehearsed.* Wherein by alleaging the consent of all *Diuines* that ever you talked with hereof, as making for you, first, you grant your selfe never to haue talked here of with S. *Cyprian*, *Chrysostome*, *Procopius*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Liranus*, *Calvin*, *Hyperius*, *Beza*, *Bish: Babington*; who making it a point annexed (as I shewed) to the seventh commande nēt, doe imply the meaning therof to be larger then your rehearsed senses: never with [u] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, [x] *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, [y] *Dionysius Carthusianus*, [z] *Ferus*, [a] *Fagius*, [b] *Danæus*; who-

z Strom. lib. 2.
x De fide & legib. cap. 13.
y In Deutero. artic. 23.
z Declamat. in Deuter.
a Annot. Paraphr. Onkeli Chald. in Deuter.
b Ethic. Christian. l. 2. c. 14.

who by handling it in like sort as the former; doe testifie their agreement with them in the conclusion: neuer with *Tertullian*, [g] *Lactantius*, [h] *Austin*, the *Bishops* assembled in the sixth generall councell to the number of aboue two hundred and twenty: who partly by vrging that place against stage-plaiers partly by condemning the thing it speaketh of, as lewd, doe evidently argue that they are of a diff rent minde from you concerning it. Or sith you hauing had the most of these quoted in my letters to you, doe grant, for *Cyprian* namely & the generall councell, that they make against you; & therfore seeme in citing all *that euer you talked with*, to meane not such as you haue read and perused, but whom you haue asked thereof by word of mouth: then, why should you more enforce against me the sayings and iudgment of *all that euer you talked with*, then I against you the sayings and iudgments of all that euer I talked with? For as you report of them whom you talked with that *they are very Godly and exceellently learned*: in like sorte may I of them whom I talked with. And of mine you can not but the rather beleeue me, because I named you one, of whom your selfe answer, that you *esteeme him to be a good mã. a good scholer, and a good preacher*: you name me none of yours. Againe, there hath not any of yours in publike place, where men doe speake with greater aduice to Christian auditories, avouched that which you hold: hee, whom you commend, and commend iustly, hath preached the same that I teach. But, you say, *he could not iustifie his speech, vttered so publikely, if it should come to due triall.* But I say, this speech of yours so publikely vttered is come to due triall, and you can not iustifie it, for he, hauing opened the words of his text, [i] *Let me not wander from thy commandements*, & begonne to shew what a cõtrary course vnto the Prophets practise we take now a daies, did prosecute it thus. *To let passe other things, let stage-plaies in the Universitie, and Maygames in the towne, speake whether these things be so. In* [k] *Deuteronomie the precept is, The woman shall not put on mans raiment, neither shall a man put on womans raiment; for all that doe so are abomination to the Lord: And it is the* [l] *Apostles precept to abstaine from all*

[g] Divin. institut lib 6. cap 20.
[h] Soliloquior. lib. 2. cap. 16.
[i] Psal. 119. 10.
[k] Deut. 22. 5.
[l] 1. The. 5. 22.

appearance of evill. Whether the former precept be broken in all plaies, I know not. Sure very few or none there are, wherein either the one, or both, is not broken, either through the vile scurrility of the matter oftentimes vnbeseeming chast eares; or through the time for the preparing for the; or through the vnnecessary charges about them; or through the manifold dangers comming both to actors, and spectators, by them. Herevpon hauing added somewhat touching maygames he made this exhortation. *The Prophet prayeth vnto the Lorde, that he may not wander from his commandements. His action ought to be thine instruction: and art thou so farre from following him that thou treadest his law vnder thy feete, and castest his wordes behinde thee? Take heed, feare, and tremble; thou hast not to deale with man, but with God: who hath left thee his law, not to dally withall, or cunningly to deceine thy selfe with thine owne glosses vpon the same, but to be the witnesse of his will, and rule of thy life.* This is the same speech, and all, that he did vtter so publikely hereof, set downe in writing by himselfe before he vttered it: a speech, that in this present triall betweene vs is already iustified, and shall be declared farther to be [m] *gold, siluer, pretious stones,* in the *day of great triall.* So shall the same doctrine delivered by S. *Cyprian,* the sixth generall councell, & other worthy men; when of the contrary side your *wood, hay, stubble,* shall be consumed by *fire.* In the meane season your selfe doe lay open your own corrupt affections, & blaze your owne shame vidry waies. One, in that you say, that *you trust you shall not seem to any man to wrong S. Cyprian & the rest, if you follow the opinio of others both very godly & excellently learned, who do interpret that text of Deuter. otherwise then he or they doe: specially in a case that toucheth you so nere, wherin you are to defend your selfe and many your good frends from the reproach of open infamy.* For you speake therein, as if the question being of another text, [n] *Thou shalt not giue to vsury vnto thy brother,* [o] which some newer writers expound against vnmercifull and cutting vsurie, as they terme it; not against all vsurie, as *Austin* with a number of auncient Fathers doth; an vsurer should say: *I trust I shall not seeme to any man to wrong S. Austin and the*

m 1 Cor. 3. 12.

n Deut. 23. 19.

o D. Wilsons discourse vpon vsury.

the reſt, if I follow the opinion of others, both very Godly and excellently learned, who doe expound that text otherwiſe then hee. or they doe; ſpecially in a caſe that toucheth mee ſo neere, wherein I am to defend my ſelfe, and many my good friends, from great diſcredit and diſcommodity. An other in that you adde, that *you well wote it little becometh you to ſay, Da veniam Cypriane*, In deed, for my ſelfe, whom in this you glince at, I muſt confeſſe I thought that it did become [p] me to ſay, *Da veniam Cypriane*, vpon the circumſtances that I ſaid it: which, if it weare a fault, though D. [q] *Fulke* thought otherwiſe, but if it were, it was of error; and I will recant it, if you confute the [r] reaſons that moued me to thinke it did become me ſo to ſay. But you, who *wote well* (by your owne confeſſion) *it little becometh you to ſay, Da veniam Cypriane*, doe thereby acknowledge, that although *you are perſwaded, as you pretend, the proper naturall ſenſe of the word of God to bee on your ſide not on Cyprians*; in truth you are not ſo. For elſe you would thinke that it ſhould become you very well to ſay *Pardon me, O Cyprian*: ſith you know, I hope, that it became the *Apoſtles* very well to ſay, [*] *we ought rather to obey God then men.* And if it *doe little become you to ſay, Pardon mee, O Cyprian*, when yet you diſſent from him and contradict him: then you glozed in ſaying that *with all humbleneſſe you reuerence his autority*; ſeeing, to craue [ſ] *leaue* and *pardon*, in diſſenting; is a ſigne of *reuerence.* And if to vſe ſo milde words, *Pardon me, O Cyprian, it becomes you little*: how much leſſe, to ſay, as in effect you doe, [t] *It is a curſed gloſſe, O Cyprian, which thou makeſt*? And if vnto *Cyprian* alone it little becommeth you to ſay ſo much: how greatly vnbeſeeming is it for you to ſay it vnto ſuch a number, both of olde, & new interpreters, beſides him? Finally, for an vpſhutte, where you ſay that *he, as a godly man, was carried with a vehemẽt & a perfit hatred againſt the deteſtable abuſes of the heathẽ ſpectacles in his time*: you grant that *the ſpectacles of plaies* ſet forth by you haue *deteſtable abuſes in them*; ſith the [u] *tragedies*, the playing wher-

p Præfat. theſ. de ſacr. ſcrip. and eccleſ.

q His anſwere to the preface of Gre. Mar. diſcovery, ſect. 15.

r Set downe in the end of my conference with Hart: in the Defence of ſuch things as Tho. Stapleton, & Gregorie Martin haue carped at in my Theſes.

* Act. 5. 29.

ſ Quod diuinatum ſcripturarum autoritati congruit in literis Cypriani, cum laude eius accipio quod autem non congruit, cum pace eius reſpuo. Aug. cont. Creſco. gramma. lib. 2. cap. 32.

t Maledicta textum gloſſa quæ vitiat bonum. Vlyſſ. red. reſp. ad Mom.

u Cothurnus eſt tragicus priſca facinora carmine recenſere: de patricidis & inceſtis horror antiquus, expreſſa ad imaginem veritatis actione, replicatur Cypr. epiſt. 2. ad Donat.

of

of he deteſteth, are ſuch as your *Vlyſſes*; the [x] *Comedies*, as your *Rivales*: & ſo, how little care you haue of being *godly*, who are not only not *caried with an hatred*, I ſay not, *with a vehemẽt & perſit hatred againſt them*, but alſo dote vpon them & write defenſes of them, I iudge you not your own mouth iudgeth you. As for thoſe godly & learned *Divines* who being talked withall by you touching the true ſenſe of the place of *Deuteronom.* did make that anſwere which you mention: what if they, miſliking your reſolute intent, did follow the example of *Michaas* the *Prophet*? [t] who being asked by K. *Acab whether he ſhould goe againſt Ramoth Gilead to battell, or leaue off*; did anſwer him *goe vp, & proſper; & the Lord ſhall deliuer it into the hand of the king*. What if in a meriment, knowing why you asked it, they ſpake vnto you, as *Caſſellius a lawyer* vnto a certaine *Roman*? [t] Of whom when *Vatinius* hauing had ſtones thrown at him by the people, to whom he was odious, did purpoſe to ſet forth a ſpectacle of fenſers, and had gotten the magiſtrates to make proclamation that *no man ſhould caſt ought into the place of ſpectacles ſauing an apple only*; *Caſcellius* being asked, *whether a pine apple were an apple, If thou meane to hurle it at Vatinius, it is*, quoth he. What if you miſtooke the ſumme of their anſwere, or a word therein? they telling you perhaps that *the true meaning of the place of Deuteronomie doth containe thoſe ſenſes* which are rehearſed by you; and you miſconſtruing them as if they had ſaid that *the true meaning thereof is contained in theſe ſenſes rehearſed, and ſo may in no caſe bee extended further*. Of which three coniectures (you force me to divine of them, and betweene them, becauſe you would not name the parties whom you cite, that by themſelues I might leame what they ſaid and why,) the laſt in my opinion ſeemeth moſt probable. conſidering it is likely that Godly learned men would looke what had bin written vpon the place by interpreters, and the interpreters, whoſe words, even tranſlated by you in a maner, are an evident token what your *Divines* told you, doe ſpecifie thoſe things as meant, in ſuch ſort, that they deny not but more might be meant; yea moſt of them affirme the generall to be meant alſo. For, of fiue particulars (ſo many you

x Vt ad ſcenæ ſales inverecundos tranſitum faciam, pudet referre quæ dicuntur pudet etiam accuſare quæ fiunt agentium ſtrophas, adulterorum fallacias, mulierum impudicitias, ſcurriles iocos, paraſitos ſordidos; ipſos quoque partes familias rogatos, modo ſtupidos, modò obſcænos, in omnibus ſtolidos, certis nominibus inverecundos. Cyprian. de ſpectac. cap. 5.

t 1 King. 22. 15.

t Macrob. Saturn lib. 2. cap 6.

you set down) *Strabus*, the author of the *ordinary Glosse*, hath two: namely that *a man* [u] *must not become womanish in colour, gate*, and so forth; nor [x] *suffer his haire to grow long, or frizill it*. The other three, that *he may not put on womens rament,* [y] *thereby the more safely to be in womens company, to bring about some bad purpose; nor* [z] *ordinarily so to converse among men and women, against the course of naturall & civill regard; nor* [a] *to be womanlike in the sacrifices of Venus*: these hath *Gulielmus Alvernus*, Bishop of *Parise*. and *Carthusianus* after him; *Aquinas*, and *Liranus* too, the last of them. Now *Strabus* saith not that those two things alone are meant: the rest doe say that so much more is meant then the other three, as approueth my assertion. For the [b] Bishop of *Parise*, cited and abbridged by *Dionysius Carthusianus*, among sundry causes why the law of God should forbid a man to put on womens raiment, giueth this for one, [c] *that a great occasion of prouoking men to lust might be taked away. For* [d] *the apparell of women* (saith he) *is a great provocation of men to lust and leacherie: because a* [d] *womans garment being put on a man doth vehemently touch and moue him with the remembrance & imagination of a woman;* & [e] *the imagination of a thing desirable doth stir vp the desire*. The same in [f] fewer words *Aquinas* doth affirme. And *Liranus* farther, hauing declared what moued him to preferre the last exposition (rehearsed by your selfe, though somewhat confusely, which I was bold to mend in the recitall of it, the better here to be vnderstood) saith that *if the text be meant of common apparell,* [g] *then is such an vse or rather abuse forbidden, because it is an occasion of wantonnes and lust*. Wherein he hath relation to that, whereas the [h] word, vsed in the former branch of the sentence touching *mens furniture not to be worne by women*, doth sometime signifie common apparell, sometime armour; he had said, that *this place, he thought, the signification of armour fitted*

u Mulieris naturaliter diuersus est color, motus, incessus, vires.
x Comam crispare, torquere capillos: vnde Apostolus, vir si comam neutrierit ignominia est illi.
y Posset intrare vir ad mulierem sub habitu muliebri.
z Quas natura sexu discreuerat, discernat & vestitus.
a In sacris Veneris viri effœminabantur. Or, as Liranus spaketh, whose words you expresse, portabant ornamenta & instruméta mulierum, vtpote colum, fusum & similia.
b Guliel. Pari. de fide & legib cap. 13.

c Vt occasio magna prouocationi libidinis auferretur. 2 Magna prouocatio libidinis viris est vestitus muliebris. d Vestis muliebris viro circundata vehementer refricat memoriam & commouet imaginationem mulieris. e Imaginatio rei desiderabilis commouet desiderium. f Incentivum est concupiscentiæ, & occasionem libidini præstat. 1ª 2æ. quæst. 102. art. 6. g Prohibetur hic talis vsus, vel potius abusus, qui est occasio libidinis. h Heb. CELI.

beſt, induced thereunto becauſe he had read that *women in the ſacrifices of Mars did beare Armour*; and the reaſon added, *for all that doe ſo are abominatiõ to the Lord*, might wel enough agree, ſith matters of idolatrie are commonly in the Scriptures termed *abomination*. But ſeeing it appeareth not by ſufficient proofe that women wore mens armour in the ſacrifices of *Mars*, or men wore womens diſtaffes, ſpindles, and ſuch like, in the ſacrifices of *Venus*; and the later branch of the law forbidding *a man to put on womans* [i] *raiment*, doth ſhew that *common apparell* is meant in the former, as *S. Hierome* alſo in the *vulgar* [k] *Latine tranſlation* hath noted: it followeth that *Liranus* reſteth and reſolueth vpon the generall ſenſe and expoſition as trueſt. By conſequence whereof the word, *abomination*, muſt not be reſtrained to matters of idolatrie, but taken in his naturall meaning: according to the like vſe therof in like places where the [l] law condemneth thoſe execrable villanies to which this change of raiment provoketh and entiſeth. Thus ſeeing that no one of all thoſe interpreters, by whom the expoſitions, which you rehearſe are ſet downe, denieth that the law extendeth farther then your ſpecialties, & moſt of them affirme it: I feare it were a fault in me to beleeue you, that godly learned *Divines*, with whom you talked thereof, ſhould all avouch vnto you the thing you father on them. Howbeit, if they did, and you will needs enforce their teſtimony againſt mee; mine anſwere made to *Cyprian*, to them I muſt apply. *The law forbidding men to put on womens raiment, ſaith that all who doe ſo are abomination to the Lord. What? And haue Godly learned Divines ſaid otherwiſe? Pardon me, ye Godly & learned Divines; I would beleeue you gladly, but that beleeuing you I ſhould not beleeue the word of God.* And I aſſure my ſelfe ſo much of their modeſtie that though you, with [y] *Gregorie Martin*, doe taunt me for my preſumptuous ſaying, *Pardon me O Cyprian*: yet, ſith [z] *Auſtin* thought he might, without any diſgrace vnto *Cyprian*, allow of *Tychonius* the *Donatiſts* expoſition as better fitting a place of Scripture, then his did; they will not take it hardly that I preferre the iudgement of *Cyprian*, with *Auſtin*, and ſuch, ſo many other both old and new interpreters, before theirs in this point.

But

i Heb. SIMLAH.

k Non induetur mulier veſte viril: nec vir vtetur veſte fœminea.

l Lev. 8. 22. & 20. 13. Deut. 23. 18.

y The preface of his diſcouery.

z Retractat. lib. 2. cap. 18.

But you, to cut the cable of my cheefeſt anker, [a] the *ſacred anker*, as they terme it, which is, the generalitie of the law it ſelfe, pronouncing *all abominable* who change their raiment ſo, betake your ſelfe at the laſt to this deſperate refuge, that *though the propoſition be a generall affirmatiue, All men are abomination who put on womans apparell*, yet in your caſes it *ſuffereth exception*. I call this refuge deſperate, becauſe your owne handling thereof doth ſeeme to argue, that when you came vnto it, you did tread on thornes; and felt that you ſhould be pittifully pricked, if you ſtood long vpon it. For when, vnto the rules of law which I cited, that *euery ſpeciall is ſuſpended when the generall is ſuſpended, and he who forbiddeth the generall will not haue the ſpeciall practiſed*, you had replied that *theſe rules are to be vnderſtood of thoſe generalls that abſolutely command, and neceſſarily comprehend their ſpecials ſub poteſtate ſua, not thoſe which muſt endure controlement as it were, & ſuffer exception to reſtraine their power*; you giue this reaſon of it: *For generall propoſitions both in Diuinity, and Law, doe vſually admit particular exceptions and limitations, quæ derogant generalitati: of which ſort this propoſition, that we haue in hand, is; as there are many mo of like nature, which you could alleadge (you ſay) to illuſtrate theſe rules, but that they are plaine to me, & you are weary already, & haue a great way yet to goe, and feare that I am ſtarke tired with your tedious diſcourſe.* It is recorded by [b] hiſtorians that the *Parthians* vſed to fly frō their enimies & withall to ſtrike thē with arrows ſhot backward. whervpō [c] *Horace, affirming that he wrote no verſes at all, whē he wrote many*, doth compare himſelfe to [d] them, who fought moſt when they pretēded flight. You reſemble the *Parthiās* in your [e] couragious flying: you will not ſeeme to withdraw your ſelf, as ouercome, but as weary with killing, & hauing other exploits to doe, and taking pitty of me. Only you differ frō thē, in that you ſhoote nō arrowes while you are flying away; which elſe I might be afraid of, as [f] *Horace* ſaith their [g] *ſouldiers* were. For your axiom vrged in manner of a proofe, that *generall propoſitiōs both in diuinitie, and law, doe vſually admit particular acceptions*; prooueth iuſt nothing: vnles peradventure you thinke that in good

[a] Χρυσῆν ἄγκυραν ἐκ̀ βαλλε, Chryſ. homil. 4 de Lazaro.

[b] Appian de bellis parth. Plutarch. vita Craſſi.

[c] Epiſtol. lib. 2. epiſt. 1.

[d] Ipſe ego qui nullos me affirmo ſcribere verſus, Inuenior parthis mendacior.

[e] Verſis animoſum equis Parthum, Horat carm. lib. 1 od. 19.

[f] Carm lib. 2. od. 13.

[g] Miles ſagittas & celerem fugam Parthi,

Logicke this argument will hold: *Some generall propositions*, for the word *vsually* betokeneth some not *all*, *some therefore doe admit particular exceptions*; *Ergo the propositiõ we haue in hand doth so*. A shaft so vnshapen without head or feather, that although the stele, I mean the antecedẽt therof, be wel wrought, & *many examples might you alleage to illustrate it*, if need were yet your selfe durst not as much as make a shew of nocking & drawing it, to shoote it of with an *Ergo*. But I of the contrary side will so encounter this deuise of yours, that there shall no more life be left therein, then there was in [d] *Acab* the euening after he was wounded. And that by meanes of this argument. No particular exception is good against a generall proposition in *Diuinitie*, saue only such as Scripture maketh and warranteth. But your asseveration, that men may put on womens raiment in stage-plaies, is a particular exception not warranted by Scripture, against the generall proposition that *all who doe so are abominable*. Therefore mens wearing of womens raiment on stages can not bee good in *Diuinitie*. The major of which syllogisme the Law (to goe no farther) matched with *Diuinitie* by your selfe in this case of rules and limitations, propositions & exceptions, will approue vnto you. For if against a generall rule and proposition, as for example sake, that [e] *right ought alwaies to be done; a man of* [f] *Cesars* minde should by way of exception and limitation say, that *it ought indeed saue when a kingdome may be gotten by doeing iniury and wrong*: must wee allow this exception? No. And why? Because it is not warranted by any text of Law. Hence it is that [g] *Bartolus*, and *Glossa communis* after him affirming absolutely that *where the law distinguisheth not, we may not distinguish*, doe shew that they meane this, not of any one law, but of the whole body, to weet, that [h] *we may not distinguish vpon a law, vnlesse that law by some other law be so distinguished.* Likewise, in *Diuinitie*, if against the doctrine of [i] *doing righteousnes at all times* (to presse the same example) a woman like [k] *Iezabel*, or men like the *Elders* and *Gouernours*, whom shee wrote to, should say that generall rules may admit exceptions, & *righteousnes is requisite to be done at all times saue when land*

[d] 2 Kin. 22. 35.

[e] D. de iust & iure lib. 10. Cic. de offic. lib. 1.

[f] Cic. de offi. lib. 3. Sueto. Iulio Cæs. cap. 30.

[g] In lib. 11. D. de in ius vocando.

[h] Vbi lex non distinguit, nos non debemus distinguere, nisi illa lex distinguatur per aliam.

[i] Psal. 106. 3.

[k] 1 King. 21. 8.

may

may bee gotten by suborning false witnesses, or a king pleased by shedding innocent bloud: this might be very iustly called a [i] *cursed glosse*, because the Scripture doth not teach in any place that it is lawfull to doe evill for advantage, or gratifying of Princes. Neither could the [k] *Apostle* rightly praise the *Scripture*, as serving to *furnish a man of God perfectly vnto all good workes*, if a worke therein commanded or forbidden generally, as good or nought, were contrariwise abominable or allowable in particulars not declared by *Scripture*. Which moved S. *Austin*, among lessons given for the right expounding therof, to make this one, that [l] *doubtfull points of Scripture ought to be cleared by the Scripture it selfe, because* [m] *all such things as touch faith and manners are set downe plainely in the Scripture*. True it is therefore that *no particular exception, in Divinity, may be admitted against a generall proposition, vnlesse the Scripture warrant it*: which was the first part of my syllogisme. The next, that your assertion touching *mens wearing of womens raiment in stage-playes, is a particular exception not warranted by Scripture against a generall proposition*: must needs be granted also. Specially by you: who, hauing talked thereof with *Divines*, both *many, and excellently learned*, perceiue that none of them could bring forth any warrant out of Scripture for it. Wherefore, the conclusion, against your stage-play-women, may cause both them and you to dye your faces with that colour, which a [n] Philosopher termed well [o] *the colour of vertue*: and I pray God it doe.

So the commandement, that *a man shall not put on womans raiment*, being proved to reach vnto all in generall, euen such, as for the sauing of honour, wealth, or life, doe it, much more whom nothing moveth thereto but a playing humour: it followeth to be sifted whether there bee truth and weight in that you adde, that *your players did not weare womens raiment*. A thing avouched by you in like sort almost, as if [p] *Achab* being wounded to death with an arrow sticking in his side, should haue said, *I am not hurt*. But this, which, if he had brought reason to perswade men, hee might haue seemed desirous to bee madde with reason, you labour to confirme, saying that *you*

i Maledicta textum glossa quæ vitiat bonum.

k 2. Tim. 3. 17.

l De doctr. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 28.

m Lib. 2. cap. 9.

n Diog Laert. in Diogene.

o Ἰδὼν μειράκιον ἐρυθριῶν, Θάρρει, ἔφη, τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ τὸ ἀρετῆς τὸ χρῶμα.

p 1. Kin 22. 34.

may not indeed bee said at all to weare womens apparell, because wearing implyeth a custome and a common vse of so doing: where as you doe it for an houre, or two, or three, to represent anothers person, by one that is openly knowne to bee as hee is indeed. For answere wherevnto, first, passing over your idle addition concerning the [q] end and [r] circumstance of your vsing it; which I terme *idle*, because if men should vse it still to whatsoever end, and *openly knowne to be the same they are*, as [s] *Sporus* was, *they may indeed be said to weare it, you will grant*: but first *if it be only for an houre, or two, or three*, that you doe it; where are your women dressed? By whom? At what time? All at the same moment they come vpon the stage? And hath none been dressed at noone, to play at night? & hath it not been towards midnight, ere some plaies ended? Next, if it bee true, that *wearing implieth a custome and a common vse of so doing*: then belike it may not be said that *Nero* the *Emperour* did ever weare any garment. For [t] *hee did never put on any garment twise*, as [u] *Suetonius* writeth: and therefore had no *custome and common vse of any*. Furthermore, suppose that *you might not bee said to weare womans apparell*; yet are you not the nearer to that which you intend: sith the Scripture saith, that *a man shall not put on womens raiment*, and *you doe put it on* (I trow) when you play, whether you weare it, or no. Finally, the *Prophets* [x] word betokening this in the originall text, is the very same with that whereby [y] *the armour of Saul is described to haue beene put on David*. Now if *David* who put off *Sauls* armour by and by, within halfe an houre, a quarter, or lesse much; yet had it put on, after the phrase of *Scripture*: may it not be said, that they, who went in womens raiment certaine houres, did that which Scripture speaketh of, *English* it as you list, put on, or weare such raiment? Alas, [z] *in how miserable plight is he*, saith [a] *Tully*, *who cannot deny that, which to confesse it is most shamefull?* I with a little change of his sentence, must lament your case, who dare not confesse that which to deny it is most shamefull. For how many hundreds are there of eye-witnesses, that your *Euryclea, Melantho, Penelope, Phœdra, Nais*, others, did weare womens raiment? How many did obserue, and with mislike haue

q To represent anothers person.

r By one that is openly knowne to be as he is indeed

s Suet. in Ner. cap. 28.

t Nullam vestem bis induit.

u Nero ca. 30.

x Heb. iilbosch

y 1. Sam. 17. 38

z Quam miserum est id negare nō posse quod sit turpissimum cōfiteri?

a Philip. 2.

haue mentioned, that *Penelopes* maides did not only weare it, but also sate in it among true women indeed, longer then *David* wore *Sauls* armour? Neither were more knowne to them to be men, then *Achilles* was at first to *Deidamia*; vntill they suspected it, seeing them entreated by the wooers to rise and dance vpon the stage. I wish there had not beene so bad a tokē to convince you; nor so many beholders to testifie thereof: though I am glad withall that they had such mislike of the thing testified. And this commoditie by it besides, that I might feare else, least you, who did before deny that men playing on your stage, are stage-plaiers; and doe deny here that the players of womens parts weare womens raiment; would at length deny that you had any plaies at all; and so accuse me of slaundering your friends for being on the stage, when they were in their studies.

The third head of reasons, knit vp vnder the title of *loosing time* in [r] your speech, but containing losse of better things then time, I declared the strength of, chiefly by this argument. *To imitate & resemble wantonnesse, scurrilitie, impudency, drunkennesse, or any other misbehauiour, is a thing vnlawfull: But sundry misbehaviours were imitated and resembled by Penelopes wooers her maides, Rivales, mariners, Phædra, the Nurse, the Nymph, and others in the playing of your Tragedies and Comedie: The playing therefore of them is to be misliked.* Where against you say not much for the maior. Onely, for as much as I, beside a number both of divine authorities, and humane, avouching it, alleaged your owne consent too, in that you affirme that [s] *it beseemeth not men to follow womens manners*: you say your meaning was, that *it doth not beseeme them to follow womens maners in the common course of life, to the perverting of the law of nature, honestie, and comelines; or for any evill purpose; yet a boy, by way of representation only, may, not indecently, imitate maidenlie or womanly demeanour.* Which answere though it seemeth to deny your approving of my reproofe in part, about young mens imitating of the maners of women: yet the greatest part thereof doth it approue. For I founde most fault with imitating the manners of strumpets and bawdes, *Melantho*,

[r] Vlyss red. res. ad Mom.

[s] Virile non est fæminæ mores sequi.

Phædra

Phædra, the *Nurse*: and, I truſt, you will not ſay that *the demeanour* of ſuch vnmaidenly maidene, & vnwomenly women, is either *maidenly* or *womanly*. But whatſoever you ſay touching your owne ſentence, and after your common courſe of diſtinguiſhing interpret it as meant *in the common courſe of life, to the perverting of the law of nature, honeſtie, & comelineſſe, or for any evill purpoſe*: it ſufficeth mee, that you durſt not apply theſe diſtinctions to the Scriptures, Fathers, or forraign writers by which I confirmed the major of mine argument and you acknowledge it to be truly confirmed. The minor is the hedge, whereat, as the loweſt, you were in hope that you might leape over with leſſe difficultie. And in this confidence you aske *What proportion there is betweene thoſe things, which I enlarge in my maior; and thoſe things which in particular application againſt you, are vſed in my minor?* To the which queſtion I will make no anſwere, till you haue conſidered and told mee what proportion there is betweene an *Elephant* and *Maximinus* the *Emperour*. But the *minor* of mine argument, whereto I muſt hold you, and not giue you leaue thus to runne at root vpon every wandring conceit of proportions; the minor of mine argument, I ſay, is moſt certaine, & true, in every branch thereof. Though neither is your cunning and art, by the way, to bee paſſed over, that whereas I hauing in general diſcloſed the hurt of amatorie dancing, did note in particular your wooers dancing with their *Minions*: you reply, that *they danced onely two ſolemne meaſures, without any lighter galliard*; and hereupon you aske me, *What Herod could be inflamed? What Propertius raviſhed? What flame of luſt kindled thereby in mens hearts? What wounds of loue imprinted? Whoſe ſenſes could bee moued, or affections delighted more then ought to be, or may honeſtly be? What enimies of chaſtitie made by this ſight? What ſtrong or conſtant heart vanquiſhed; nay, what reed ſhaken thereby? What ſo much as flaxe or toe ſet on fire?* Great crie, and little wooll: as who ſay that I had applied all theſe things to dancing alone; and not diverſe of them to amatory kiſſing, amatorie embracing, and amatorie pangs expreſſed in moſt effectuall ſort, togither with it. Or, as who ſay farther, that none could bee touched

ched with any sparke of lust by seeing the supposed gentlewomen dance so small a time, so grauely with gallant lustie yonkers; because you, a marvellous indifferent iudge, & well seene in things of this qualitie, doe pronounce that none could. [u] *Lactantius*, controlling a sentence, wherein [x] *Tullie* had magnified the force of fortune, and giuen edge thereto with an interrogatiō, [y] *Who knoweth not that Fortune is of great force both waies, either to prosperitie, or to adversitie? forsooth*, saith hee, *I knowe it not*. In like sort they whose iudgement herein is so much sounder, lesse dazled with affection and preiudice, then yours, as in matters touching God and true Religion, *Lactantius* was then *Tullies*, may answer your demands, that *manie Herods might be inflamed, many a Propertius ravished thereby*. For your partiality and weaknesse of sight doth bewray it selfe, in that, where I had noted how your new *Nymph*, by liuely expressing of amorous panges, brought fewell enough to heate & melt a hart of yce or snow: you reply, that *shee hath been worse reported of to me a great deale, then shee did deserue, as I and the world shall one day see*. Now shee was so reported of to me by *Lactantius*, I meane, a man whose word I offer you no wrong if I beleeue before yours; a man, that deserueth to be as well esteemed of, as he, for sundrie causes & for some, better; a man, who did report it, not of surmise, but of knowledge; not of heare-say, but of sight; not of that which might be, but which had hapned in senses and affections moved and tickled with it. And the thing which *the world and I should one day see*, whereby your meaning shewed in the words ensuing is, that *shee did profer honest, lawfull, vertuous, mariage-meaning loue*, as [z] her speech committed now to print declareth; doth not proue that he *reported worse a great deale to mee of her expressing those pangs, then she deserued*. For that very [a] action, which shee did insinuate her selfe to be [b] enraged & [c] burne with desire of, is [d] *honest* and *lawfull*, belonging vnto *vertuous and mariage-meaning loue*. Yet if one should say, that the open doing of it, like a [e] *Cynicke*, or vsing of sweet words and gestures tending to it, like [f] *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, *cannot shake a reed*, much lesse surprise or wound a strong, and constant heart: hee

u Divin instit. lib. 3. cap. 28.
x De Offic. l. 2
y Quis, inquit, nescit? Ego verò nescio.
z Panniculus Hippolyto Senecæ tragæd. assutus Appen Meleag.
a Iugalem pariter ineamus torum Libamina ad re prima servatæ affero Famæ, & iuventæ: tu pariter ad me tua Affer; & vterq; carpas vtriusq; hanc rosam Primā integramq;.
b Miserere amorem Naidis fassæ gravem, Nunquamq; fassuræ, nisi hanc furor ultimus vocem e pulisset.
c Sed vtor intus, fateor.
d Heb. 13. 4. ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος.
e Dio Laer. in Hipparchia. ἐν τῷ φανερῷ συνεῖναι γένετο.
f Xen. conviv.

might

might seeme vnworthie to be talked withall by men of ingenuous modestie and iudgment. Wherefore sith the profer of nothing else but honest and mariage-meaning loue, made in words only by a hansome boy apparelled like a woman did ravish a *Propertius*, and inflame an *Herod*; notwithstanding you thought that it could not possibly worke any such effect, as I and the world also should perceiue: your thicke interrogations wherewith you come vpon me, as with so many foines & prickes of a sword, to make mee yeeld that youths attired in womens raiment, & *dancing a few solemne measures like* [b] *Sempronia, cannot set flaxe on fire*; in shew they doe braue it, as if no way but one; indeed they drawe not so much blood, as a needle would. But be it as be may, for the forcible operation and working of the poyson, which neither I affirmed to bee altogether so quicke in every branch of the minor, concerning your players, as in some alleaged for proofe of the maior; nor doe you rightly iudge of, who acknowledging it to be as poison in the maior for *bad effects of such playes*, would haue it triacle in the minor for *good effects of yours*: the minor of mine argument, as I said, is certaine and true in every branch thereof. One alone, amongst all that I specified, you take exception at; which is the *Nymphes* part. And therein I mistook a circumstance, I grant. How be it I must tell you withall that I mistooke it so, and such a circumstance, that the righting of it doth not only not diminish the certaintie and truth of my minor, but rather much encreaseth it. For when the graue and godly man, whom I spake of, had shewed mee his mislike of amorousnesse & drunkennes expressed in your plaies; & namely, for the former, had noted the mischiefe of the representing those pangs so effectually by the *Nymph*, a new part inserted into *Seneca*: I not being farther inquisitiue thereof, did thinke that you supposing the person of a bawd was not set forth liuely and skilfully enough by *Seneca* in *Phædra's Nurse*, had brought in a *Nymph* to perswade *Hippolytus* that which the *Nurse* could not; and therevpon I mentioned the *Nurses* and the *Nymphes bawderie*. Now, by your publishing of that which you inserted, I perceaue you added a new bawd indeed, but

[b] Salust. conjurat. Cat.

but a man bawde, *Pandarus*; and gaue the *Nymph* another part almost as shamefull: so that, I confesse, I was, through some negligence, doubly overseene; first, in naming *Titius*, or rather *Titia*, for *Seius*; againe, in imagining one naughtie part added by you vnto *Seneca*; whereas you added two. For, whatsoever you say of your *Nymphs wooing and profer to Hippolytus*: S[t] [a] *Ambrose*, on the [b] *Scripture* touching *Rebecca's* spousals, saith that *a woman should giue vnto her parents the choice of her husband*, [c] *least shee bee reputed too malapart and wanton, if she take vpon her to make her owne choice*: [d] *for shee must rather seem to be desired by a man, then to desire a man her selfe*. And you should haue noted, that [e] *Erasmus* words, alleaged by your selfe to iustifie the *Nymphes* action, are, *Si res honesta est matrimonium, & procum agere honestum est. Procum agere*, he saith, of the masculine gender; not of the feminine, *Procam*. A thing, from allowing whereof, hee was so farre; much more from terming them *tetrica ingenia & ab omnibus Gratijs aliena*, who doe disallow it; though you, not contented to adioyne this also, enlarge it with comparison of your speech to *Momus*; as if *Erasmus* likewise blamed vs for [f] *accounting all matters touching loue, and pleasant mirth vnchast*, iumpe as your selfe doe for [g] *calling that vnhonest and wanton, which is merry and light*: but *Erasmus* was so farre from allowing a maid to be a wooer, or wooesse, what shall I name it? that in expresse words [h] he disalloweth it as [i] *vnseemely*. By the iudgment therefore of your own witnesse it was a misbehaviour in *Nais* to be wooing. What? And was it not a misbehaviour also in her to be railing? to say vnto *Hippolytus*, that *his mother was a* [k] *tiger, his father was a* [l] *bull, himselfe a* [m] *proud, a cruell, a barbarous savage man*? to banne him? to curse him? to wish him the most horrible kind of death that might be? and all because he would not leaue his lawfull libertie to satisfie her lust? Or would your *Erasmus* haue reproved mee as [n] rigorous, to say no more, for blaming this in a maiden; and himselfe haue liked it, [o] who misliked in men that *they faine and spread lewd*

a De Abrah. patr. lib. 1. cap. ult.
b Gen. 24. 51.
c Ne apperentiæ procatioris æstimetur autor.
d Expetita enim magis debet videri à viro, quàm ipsa virum expetisse.
e Epist. de col. loquiorum vtil. ad lectorẽ.
f Quibus impudicum videtur quicquid amicum est ac festivũ.
g Qui turpe, lætum, ludicrum, petulans vocat.
h Christiani matrimon. institut.
i Turpe non est iuvenibus ambire sponsam, quod virginibus sit indecorum.
k Hirta duro caucasi tigris jugo.
l Aliquis taurus indomitus
m Superbe, duræ, crudelis. Pensabit ista Nemesis, & penset precor. Aspiciat altum barbari fastum viri. Vlciscere Dia: pessimo leto occubet.
n Quid facias istis ingenijs tetricis, & ab omnib' gratiis alienis?
o Christ. matrim. instit.

reports of such as yeeld not to their wooing? Truely, for mine owne part albeit *Nais* had not transgressed any dutie with so fowle language, and might without impeachment of maidenly modestie, haue sued to be *Hippolitus* bedfellow: yet should I haue thought it a thing vnbeseeming a youth of tender yeares to bee invred and taught, how hee may by amorous speeches, lookes, and gestures, wooe for a husband, or a wife. But seeing she did that which cannot be cleared of wantonnes & scurrilitie: my minor (notwithstanding the circumstance I mistook) is most true and certaine for the branch concerning her, Yea, it is as certaine and true, with alteration of the name only, even for the very crime too wherewith I charged her insteed of her brother *Pandarus*: that is to say, for *bawderie*. Which word why you should censure by terming it *the broad name of bawderie*, I know not: sith the Latine words, *leno*, and *lena*, haue none in our *English* correspondent to them (for ought that I knowe) but *a bawd*; and *lenocinium*, *bawderie*. How commeth it to passe then that my vse of the *English* name should be faultie: where [h] you doe vse the [i] Latine without fault, I trust, and that in the person of modest, chast, *Hippolytus*? The truth is, that I should haue spoken broader, so to terme it, and vsed words of greater eagernesse and sharpnesse. For his practise is bawderie, who entiseth any to single fornication. What is it farther to adulterie? What farther yet, to incest? And to doe this simply, as incestuous [k] Amnō did, were abominable. What to doe it in such sort, as the [l] *Nurse in Seneca*? but chiefly as your [m] *Pandarus*? My speech was too mincing, when I named *bawderie*. If I had termed it *most filthie beastly bawderie*, my words had beene broader, though not broad enough yet. But to returne to mine argument, the maior and the minor being thus confirmed, the conclusion followeth necessarily, and should haue beene granted by you in my iudgment.

So many heads, so many wits: your fancie lead you another way. And therefore, according to the young Schollers *Axiome*, that *alwaies when both the premisses are true, the conclusion must be denied*: You deny that the playing of your tragedies and comedie is to be misliked and censured as vnlawfull.

To

[h] Panic. Senicæ assut. iO blanda vox, turpisq; lenonum fides
[i] 2. Sam. 13. 11
[l] Nunc luxus rape; &c. Hippol. act. 2.
[m] Amoris expers forma cui prodest nitens? &, Nata sit cervo patri conjux: & vtero dama quem peperit, subit. Quanquam ferunt esse quoq; gentes, vbi & nata patri nubit, & nato parens; & iuncta crescit vinculo pietas duplo. Pannic. assut. Sen. act. 2.

To the fine perſwading whereof you take advantage by ſomewhat that I ſaid: and the point of my ſword, which pearceth through the heart of your defence of plaies, you ſtriue (though in vaine, for want of ſtrength) to draw out, and turne againſt my ſelfe. For, becauſe I amplified the vnlawfulneſſe of a thing by the inconvenience and hurt which it breedeth, principally to the *Actors*, in whom the earneſt care of liuely repreſenting the lewd demeanour of bad perſons doth worke a great impreſſion of waxing like vnto them; next, to the *ſpectators*, whoſe manners are corrupted by ſeeing and hearing ſuch matters ſo expreſſed: you encounter me herein with two diſputes; one, that *neither the ſpectators of your plaies, nor the actors, could receiue any hurt thereby*; an other, that *no euill affections could be ſtirred vp thereby, but rather good.* Which points it is a world to ſee how you ſtruggle to proue by ſhewes of reaſon; and it will not fadge. Beſides, were they proued: my concluſion ſtandeth nevertheleſſe entire, becauſe neither of them doth touch a haire of the *premiſſes.* The ſhews of reaſon firſt, wherby you would proue that *neither the ſpectators, nor actor, could receiue any hurt by your plaies*, are theſe; that *for your penning you are baſe and meane, as I ſee*, (ſo you tell me) *and ſpecially for womanly behauiour you were ſo careleſſe, that when one of your actors ſhould haue made courtſie like a woman, he made a legge like a man; and your ſpectators could not greatly charge your actors with any ſuch diligence in meditation and care to imprint any paſſions.* Of which three aſſertions the laſt is already diſproued in part by *Nais*: and your ſelfe, qualifying it with the word *greatly*, declare that in your conſcience *your actors might be charged with earneſt meditations and care to imprint paſſions*, though not *greatly charged.* The middeſt, of one *actor* forgetting his womanhood, doth no more argue that *you were careleſſe for womanly behauiour: and for other alſo, but ſpecially for womanly*: then the ouerſight of a [k] *Greeke ſtage-plaier*, who, when he ſaid, *O God*, point to the ground; when he ſaid, *O earth*, caſt vp his hand to heauen ward, doth argue that the *Romans*, *Roſcius*, *Æſopus*, but ſpecially the *Greekes*, were careleſſe for ſeemely geſture on the ſtage. The

[k] Philoſtrat. vit. ſophiſtrat. in Polem.

formost, like the rest; and worthy to be their ringleader for vntruth, or trifling. For neither doe I see, that in *your penning you are base and meane*, if you speake of all, and compriſe loue-ſpeeches too, as [l] that of *Nais*: neither if you were ſo, is it any proofe that you could not hurt, for baſe and meane writers may vtter evill ſpeeches & [m] *evill ſpeeches corrupt good maners*: and, beſide your owne, you plaied *Seneca* too, whoſe penning neither [n] *Scaliger*, nor [o] *Lipſius*, nor [p] your ſelfe doe vilifie as baſe; ſo that the very ſtile of ſomewhat, which you plaied, might worke ſtrong impreſſions by your own verdict. Wherefore when of thoſe three aſſertions you inferre, that *neither the ſpectators, nor actors, could receiue any hurt by your plaies*: you diſpute in like ſort: as if to controll [q] *Suetonius* and [r] *Tacitus*, who ſay, that, when *Rome* was burnt in *Neros* time ſome did of purpoſe fire it, one ſhould reaſon thus: *The ſtuffe which thoſe incendiaries did vſe, was towe & firebrands ſcarſe kindled, as you ſee. and ſpecially for certaine of them, who brought that ſtuffe, they were ſo careles of ſetting fire on horſes, that they fell to pillage, carrying things out of houſes vnburnt; & ſuch as they robbed and ſpoiled with ſword and fire could not greatly charge them with any ſuch diligence in paines & care to burne the cittie: & ſo neither the cittie ſuffered hurt by thē, nor they did any hurt.* Strange that *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* ſhould ſay the contrarie. But *ſometimes good Homer himſelfe will fall a ſlumbering*. Now as you haue proued thus, that *neither actors nor ſpectators could receiue hurt by your plaies*: ſemblably you proue that *no evill affections could be ſtirred vp thereby, but rather good.* For in *Vlyſſe, reduce* (ſay you) *who did not loue the fidelity of Eumeus, and Philatius, towards their maiſter; and hate the contrary in Melanthius? Who was not moued to compaſſion to ſee Vlyſſes, a great Lord, driuen ſo hardly, as that hee was faine to be a begger in his owne houſe? Who did not wiſh him well, and all ill to the wooers; and thinke them worthily ſlaine for their bloody purpoſe againſt Telemachus, and other diſſolute behaviour not ſo much expreſſed on the ſtage, as imagined to bee done within?* And ſo you goe forward with a troope of queſtions, vrging it as certaine that *all your ſpectators did admire the*

conſtancie

l Hippolyte neſcis quod fugis ritæ bonum: Hippolyte, neſcis. Sed vror intus. Libamina prima, Rolam primam Mutua vramur face. O quam juvaret igne tam pulchro mori? & quæ ſequuntur.

m 1. Cor. 15. 33.

n Poetices lib. 6. cap. 6.

o Animadverſ. in tragæ. Sen.

p Vlyſ. red. prolog. & epilog.

q Nero. ca. 38.

r Annal. lib. 15.

ſ Stupa, tædaq; Sueton. Faces. Tacit.

t Vt raptus licentius exercerint. Tacit. Dio Xiphili. epit.

constancie of Penelope, and dispraise the lightnesse and bad nature of Melantho, and thinke her iustly hanged for it; all did praise the patience, wisdome and secrecie of Vlysses, & Telemachus his sonne; all were glad to see Vlysses restored to his wife, and goods, and his mortall enimies overthrowne and punished: again, that *in Rivalls, all might be delighted to see the fond behaviour of country-wooing, expressed by civill men, or the vanitie of a bragging souldier; all might detest drunkennesse by seeing the deformitie of drunken marriners actions:* that in *Hippolytus* likewise *all young men did wish themselues to be as chast as Hippolytus was; all the spectators detested the loue of Phœdra approved the graue counsell of the Nurse to her in secret; none of them could be the worse for her wooing Hippolytus in so generall termes; all did wish that Theseus had not bin so credulous; and were sory for the cruell death of Hippolytus.* The most of which things you affirme they did, not meaning to pronounce of their secret thoughts, but that your plaies were naturally to worke these effects: as appeareth by that in some of the branches you say that the *spectators might doe so, or so, yea, could not be the worse.* And the same appeareth farther, by that you adde, that *these & such like passions were, or might be moued in your plaies, without hurt, at the least, to any man: as in other tragedies who doth not hate* (say you) *the fury of Medea; the revenge of Atreus; the treason of Clytemnestra, and Ægysthus; and the crueltie of Nero? Contrariwise who doth not pittie the rage, and death of Hercules; the calamity of Hecuba and her children; the infortunate valour of Oedipus; the murder of Agamemnon; the banishment of Octavia; and such like?* you take your selfe therefore hereby to haue proved that *no evill affections could be stirred vp by your plaiers in any: at the least no evill; and many good perhaps.* But why in the particular point touching *Hippolytus,* in which it most behooved you (because of your new peece of *Pandarus* and *Nais*) to shew that good affections might be stirred vp by his part in all, and no evill in any: Why demande you, *what young man did not wish himselfe to bee as chast, as Hippolytus was, if he were not so already?* Why asked you not generally, as in the rest, *who did not?* Was it because

you

you thought, that ſome elder men did not wiſh themſelues as chaſt, as he was: but were ſtirred vp by *Phædars* pangs, and *Pandarus* reaſons, to wiſh the like motion had beene made to them? Or, that any maidens were vpon the ſtage, who could haue been contented to become vnchaſt in yeelding to *Hippolytus* that which hee could not graunt to *Nais* [q] chaſtlie? As for the young men of our Vniverſity who were preſent at it, I am hartily glad if they were ſo minded: and doe reap my ſelfe the greater comfort of it, the more [r] I haue commended his example to them. But if they wiſhed ſo, when they ſaw your play: it came more of ſomewhat which they brought thither then which they found there. For, by your inſtruction, the death of *Hippolytus* ſhould haue ſerued to teach them, that they muſt neuer deny vnto a *Nais*, or *Phædra*, ſuch requeſts: as [s] your ſelfe tell them, on ſpeech concerning women; *Quas ne quis vnquam ſpernere dehinc audeat, Hippolytus ecce horribile documentum dedit; Impunè temnat nemo terreſtres Deas.* And what if all who were preſent, not the young men only, did *admire the conſtancie of Penelope*? Could no evill affection bee therefore ſtirred in anie by ſeeing a boy play ſo chaſt a part? Happy would *Lucretia* then haue thought her ſelfe. For ſhee was not inferior in chaſtity to *Penelope*: and when [t] *Tarquin* ſaw her, he ſaw her employed as a [u] moſt vertuous woman. Yet, for all the wōderment he made of her vertue, he was more inflamed with loue of her beautie. Yea [x] the very ſight of her chaſt behauiour ſtirred vp his wicked luſt. Moreouer, if *Vlyſſes begging in his owne houſe, did moue all the ſpectators to haue compaſſion of him*, and thereby grew no hurt to them: yet into the actor might there grow ſome hurt by acquainting himſelfe with hipocriticall faining of [y] lyes, [z] hunger, beggerie, [a] wrath and ſhedding of blood. As [b] *Æſopus* [c] playing the part of *Atreus* in a tragedie (one of your examples of *paſſions moued, without hurt, at the leaſt, to any man*) grew to ſuch a rage by thinking and adviſing how he might wreake his anger, and be reuenged on *Thieſtes*; that with [c] his mace royall hee ſtroke one of the ſeruants running by, and ſlew him. And beſide this hurt that poſſibly might grow, there did grow the ſuffering of ſuch

[q] Amore nempe Theſei caſto iuris? Sen Hippolyt.

[r] Oratione duodecima.

[s] Epilog. in Hippoly. Sen.

[t] Nocte ſera deductam lanæ inter lucubrātes ancillas. Liui. lib. 1.

Prou. 31. 10.

[u] Tarquinium mala libido. Lucretiæ per vim ſtuprandæ capit, tum forma, tum ſpectata caſtitas incitat.

[x] Vlyſſ. red. act. 1. & 3.

[y] Act. 2 & 3.

[z] Act. 2 & ſequentibus.

[a] Plutarc. vit. Ciceronis.

[b] τὸν ἱκέτην ὑπὸ κριτῶν ἀνδύεται τὸν Ἄτρια.

[c] τοῦτο τὸν ὄντα ἔξαι ἡ ἀπ. λὴν.

ſuch things at *Melanthius* and *Antinous* hands, or [e] one of their heeles rather, as a [d] poore wretch in *Terence* thought to contumelious & baſe for him to ſuffer; & a [e] Paraſite in *Plautus* counted a peece of his trade. Which reprochfull patience if you thinke, I ſay not, that *all who ſaw it praiſed it*, (in ſaying ſo you blemiſh your *ſpectators much*;) but, that it *was no hurt vnto your actor of Vlyſſes*, becauſe (as you diſtinguiſh on [f] *Iuvenals* words thereof) hee is a *poore Scholler*: you are not of [g] *Tertullians*, and [h] *Nazianzens* minde, who note it for a ſtaine in [i] whatſoeuer plaiers, euen in raſcall heathens; how much more would they if not in ſchollers, yet in *Chriſtians*, whom Saint *Paul* exhorteth to [a] *doe only thoſe things which* [b] *adorne and ſet them out with comly gravity*? Now if ſome might be the worſe for beholding or playing of the beſt parts, the parts of *Vlyſſes*, and *Penelope*: what harme might they receiue by the parts of the *wooers*, of *Melanthius*, of *Melantho*, of a *bragging ſouldier*, of *the drunken marriners*, of *the Nurſe*, of *Phœdra*? In ſome of which number your generall propoſitions, that *all the ſpectators muſt needs be moued thus or thus thereby*, are vntrue. In the reſt, nay, in theſe too, manifeſt is the weaknes of your particular concluſions, that becauſe good thoughts might be ſtirred vp in all the *ſpectators* by this or that part, therefore *thoſe parts could hurt no man*. Beſides if by thoſe parts no hurt could come to any, yet might there much by other which here you mention not: and ſo you come ſhort of your concluſion generall, that *no hurt could come to any by the paſſions which were moued in your plaies*. Your generall propoſitions doe faile in the women: of whom you ſpeake in ſuch ſort, that as [c] *ſome by putting away a good conſcience, made ſhipwracke of their faith*: ſo it may be feared that you, by putting truth and ſinglenceſſe away, will hazard the ſhipwracke of common ſenſe and reaſon. For when maried women doe commit adultery, all are not diſpleaſed with their lightnes and bad nature, nor thinke them worthie of death for it. *David* had an other opinion of *Bathſeba*, in the [d] ſacred ſtorie; the *foole* in the

[d] At ego infelix neq; ridiculus eſſe, neq; plagas pati poſſum. Ter. Eunucho.

[e] Niſi qui colaphos perpeti potis paraſitus, frangiq; aulas in caput. Plut captiv.

[f] Mamercorũ alapas.

[g] Faciem contumelijs alaparum ſic obiicit, quaſi de præcepto domini ludat. Docet ſcilicet & Diabolus verberandam maxillam patienter offerre. Tert. de ſpectac. cap 23.

[h] τὸ ἐπὶ ἁπάσαις χαρίεσσαι, καὶ πᾶσιν γλυκὺ τοῖς ἐπὶ κάλλει μανίαις. Greg. Naz. orat. in laud. Baſilij Magni.

[i] Scenici Tert. ibid. capras ſi ſaltaſſent. Grego. Naz. & Phil. 4. 9. [a] verſe 8. [b] Tit. 2. 10. [c] 1 Tim. 1. 19. [d] 2 Sam. 11. 27.

e Prov.7.22.
f Vly. red prolog. & epilog.
g Iliad.lib.3.
h Odyss. lib. 8.
i Pulchertima Melantho.
k Du'cis Melantho. Vlyss. red.act.3.
l 2 King.17.13.
m Act 2. 40.& 13.50. & 17. 30.
n Mat.23.37.
o So plaies are termed in Greeke writers commonly; sometime in Latin also. And perhaps dissemblers in faith & religion had that name by a metophor drawen from the stage: as if they were playing other mens persons.
p Æl. Sparti. in Ant. Caracallo.
q Vellem, si liceret.
r Si libet, licet. An nescis te imperatorem esse; & leges dare, non accipere?
s Prov.1.14.

c *Proverbs, of the strange woman*; the *Troians*, in f your *Homers*, g *Ilias*, of *Helena*: and in his h *Odyssea*, the supposed *Gods*, that is to say, great persons, specially *Mercurie*, thought otherwise of *Venus*. How can it be then, that all should not only dispraise the bad nature and lightnesse of *Melantho*, an vnmaried harlot, but also account her iustlie *hanged for it*? whom it is more likely that some would haue stepped forth to begge fró the gallowes, at least the louing wooer, who had said vnto her; i *O most faire Melantho*, k *O sweet Melantho*; if he had thought that she should haue beene hanged in earnest. Like probability hath it, that *all would approue the Nurses graue counsell given to Phædra in secret*: when the counsell given openly to men, by the l *Prophets*, by the m *Apostles*, yea, by n *Christ* himselfe, wherwith this o *hippocrites* counsell deserueth not for gravity to be named the same day, was not *approved by all*. As for that concerning *Phædra* you demand, *who could be the worse for her wooing Hippolitus: in so generall termes*: aske q *Caracallus the Emperour*; in whose sight when his stepmother *Iulia*, being mad with the same loue to him-ward that *Phædra* to *Hippolytus*, did vncouer and make bare, as it were through negligence, the most of her body, his heart conceiued fire straight, r his tongue disclosed it; and by her wooing of him in more generall termes, then *Phædra* wooed *Hippolytus*, his cõsent was woon to her incestuous lust. But of all absurd speeches in this matter, that may beare the bell, that hauing asked *who could be the worse for her wooing Hippolytus in so generall termes*, you inferre thereon: *The drift whereof if it had beene to procure an honest honourable mariage, as it was covertly to allure him to incest, he might very well haue listned to it.* As if one of them, vnto whom s *Solomon* attributeth this speech, *Cast in thy lott among vs, wee will all haue one purpose*, should say that *none could be the worse for his entising in so generall termes: the drift whereof if it had been to draw men to lawfull warre against enemies, as it was to vnlawfull spoiling of the innocent, they might very well haue listned to it.* Your particular conclusions doe faile both in the women (for a surplusage of your former default concerning them) & in the men also. For although *Melanthos*

Ianthos lightneſſe and bad nature had beene diſpraiſed by all: yet ſome might be corrupted by *Melanthos looſeneſſe* and [t] bad laſciuious talke, vnleſſe Saint [u] Paul erred. And the graue counſell giuen vnto *Phœdra* by the *Nurſe in ſecret*, might hurt vnwarie louely youths, as doth a ſcorpion, with the [x] taile thereof. And *Phœdras generall termes* might bee as [y] *Ioabs right hand*, wherewith he tooke *Amaſa by the beard to kiſſe him*: when her ſpeciall drift being no more couered thē *Ioabs* ſword was, might in the meane ſeaſon wound *Amaſa* to death and ſhed *his bowels to the ground*. The ſame is apparant in the ſeurrility of *Melanthius*, the lewd or fond tricks of the *wooers*, *the vanity of the bragging ſouldier*, *the beaſtlineſſe of the drunken marriners*. For [z] *Ariſtotle* wiſhing a law to be made in all well ordered cities, that [a] *young men ſhould neither ſee tragedy plaied, nor comedie, vntill in riper yeares they be paſt danger of being hurt thereby*, groundeth his advice on reaſon and experience; becauſe things which young men receiue, doe ſticke faſt by them: and therefore ſith principall care ought to be taken that they may proue vertuous, [b] they ſhould be kept frō hearing any ill ſpeeches, and ſeeing any ill deeds; chiefly ſuch deeds and ſpeeches, as are lewde or hatefull. So that, where you tell vs in defence of *the ſpectacle of your drunkē marriners*, that *it was not poſſible that any man ſhould be prouoked to drunkennes thereby*: albeit this were true, whereof yet I doubt, or rather I doubt not cōſidering that many are ouerprone to folow any vice or evill, which they ſee or heare, as an [c] author praiſed by your ſelfe obſerueth out of *daily experience in childrē ſwearing great oaths, and ſpeaking laſcivious and vncleane words by ſuch example of other*; but if it were true, there might neuertheleſſe a dew of that *poiſon*, which *Ariſtotle* mentioneth, infect ſome tender buddes, and annoy their fruit by the drunken ſongs, by the drunken ſpeeches; by the drunken geſtures of thoſe drunken beaſts. The greater is your fault, who ſay, the

[t] Domina Penelope ſibi dum neſcio quam gloriam captat leuem, Quot illa noctes perdidit flendo bonas? Momenta pulchri corporis ſpolium auferunt, Fragiliſque res eſt format dum licet, vtere, & Arce quum Danae procos Arceret alta, quum fores claulæ vndiq; In imbre venit Iuppiter tandem aureo Prædamque victor abſtulit: nulla aureo reſiſtet imbri: ferreas autum trabes, Ne dum puellas frangit ac ſternit ioſo

[u] 1 Cor. 15. 33.

[x] Contemne famam: fama vix vero fauet. Peius meretrici melior, & peior bono

[y] 2 Sam. 20. 9.

[z] Politicor lib. 7 cap vlt. *a τὰς ποιητὰς τὰς ἀμέτρους, ὧν τὰ κωμῳδίαι διὰ τὰ ἀκολάστους εἰσίν.* Idem he ſaith, meaning ſuch ſpeeches (vſed to be expreſſed in that kinde of verſe) as there are a number vttered by Antinous, Eruymachus, with the like in Vlyſſes redur, and commonly in all tragedies. Ariſtot. de poet. *b Δεῖ μὴ τὴν ἀκοὴν πρῶτον ἐθίζειν τὴν τοιαύτην· μιμεῖται δ' αὐτὸν, ὅσα ἐχεῖ ἠθικὰ, ἢ πάθη ἔχει.* *c* Syr Thomas Eliot in the Gouernor, lib. 1. cap 4. & 6.

Lacedemonians are commended for causing their slaues, beeing drunke in deed, to be brought before their children, that they, seeing the beastly vsage of such men, might the more loth that vice: but you much better expressing the same intent, not with drunken but with sober men counterfeiting such vnseemely manners, are the lesse therefore to be reprehended. Wherein how overthwarthly you assirme your selues to haue done *much better* then *the Lacedæmonians*, whose fact is commended; and yet conclude that *you are the lesse therefore to be reprehended*, as if your conscience told you that either your fact is not like to theirs, or hath some notable difference whereby it is made worse and worthy of reproofe, though of the lesse reproofe, the liker it is to theirs in part: we shall the more easily perceiue, if we consider how the commender of it (why signified you not his name or place?) *Plutarch*, [s] doth likewise by and by thereupon cómend them for that * *they neither heard comedie, nor Tragedie, least they should in earnest, or iest, lend eare to those who gainsaid the lawes.* For hereby I gather, that they did not purposely make their slaues drunken; against [t] their lawes had that beene: but [u] when the slaues were drunke, they turned the example to their childrens benefit, that, by seeing swine wallowing in the mire of vomit, and so foorth, they might detest drũkennes. As with vs when theeues are hanged, or whoores carted, we shew them to our children, to breede a detestation of theft & whoredome in them. Whereupon if *Seius* should say, it were much better that true men should faine themselues to be theeues, display some the euish pranke of theirs vpõ a stage, and seeme to be hanged for it; or that chast maidens & young men should coũterfeit the misdemeanour of whores & knaues and openly representing the filthy act of their vncleannes, bee taken in it, and put to shame: your selfe, I am perswaded, would iudge his *better* to be *worse*; at least in the latter point of knaues and whores, because the shame, that lighteth on thẽ after the fact done, may profit the beholders; but the doing of it, and of things tending to it, hath turpitude that may corrupt them. Which censure if you will apply to your fact compared with the example of the *Lacedemonians*, you may see

their

s Antiq; Lacedæmonior. institut.

* Κωμῳδίας καὶ τραγῳδίας οὐκ ἐκροῶντο, ὅπως μήτε σπουδῇ μήτε ἐν παιδείᾳ ἀκούωσι, τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τοῖς νόμοις.

t Xenophon. de repub. Lacedem.

u μεθύσαντας Plutar. saith & not, μεθυσκομένους.

their drunken slaues doe little helpe to iustifie your mariners; because the [a] *rotten or stinking talke* (as [b] Scripture termeth it) which your matriners vsed before and at their quaffing, would not haue beene suffered among the *Lacedæmonians* to be sung or said in their childrens hearing, no not by enterlude-plaiers, Neither haue you greater reason to commend and extoll the worthie play-fellowes of your matriners by *Cato's* name and credit, in that you aske; *What Cato might not be delighted to see the fond behaviour of country wooing expressed by civill men, or the vanitie of a bragging souldier?* For *Cato*, not the younger, whose *Stoicall* austeritie [c] *Tullie* findeth fault with, but whom without such note [d] he praiseth the elder, [e] did put out of the number of *Senators* one *Manilius*, because in the day time he had kissed his wife in his daughters sight: & himselfe tooke no lesse heed of speaking filthy words in his sonnes presence, then he would haue done in presence of the *Vestall Virgins*; nor ever would enter into the bath with him. least his sonne should see him naked. And can you thinke that any of this mans disposition, what delight so ever himselfe might haue taken in that which could not taint his gravitie and constancie, would haue beene delighted, delighted? nay, contented to behold the filth of your country-wooers in the mouths & actions of Schollers like his sonne, before so great a company both of sonnes and daughters; in whose [f] eares, & eies, a [g] *Poet*, no way comparable with *Cato* for severitie and care of vertuous nurturing & training vp of youth, detesteth the expressing of any one such foolerie, as your country-wooers did expresse a number? As for the vanitie of your bragging souldier, I marvel that intending to proue *there could no evill affection bee stirred vp thereby in any*, you durst mention *Cato*: whē I had shewed that [h] *Plautus*, a far looser person, and better experienced in matters of this kind, doth note that [i] mens maners are wont to be corrupted and made worse by *playes which haue a bawd, or whore, or bragging souldier in them. The dissolute behaviour* of your Courtly-wooers, you say, *was not so much expressed on the stage, as imagined to be done within. Not so much on the stage: much on the stage* therefore; and indeed too much. Yet this

[a] Αἰσχρὸς σκωμὸς
[b] Ephes. 4. 29
[c] Orat. pro Muræn.
[d] De senect.
[e] Plutar. vita Caton. maioris.
[f] Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat Intra quæ puer est.
[g] Iuv. sat. 14.
[h] In prolog. Captivor.
[i] Profectò expedies fabulæ huic operam dare. Hic neq; periurus leno est, nec meretrix mala, Neque miles gloriosus.

would proue, I grant, that small harme could bee done by the playing of their parts, vnlesse that were true which the Scripture saith: [k] *How great a pile of wood how little fire kindleth?* *Melanthius* alone of all the sorts, or varlets, whom you namely specifie, hath no amplification of *Lacedæmonians*, or *Cato*; no extenuation of *not so much on the stage*, to grace the vngratiousnesse of his fowle scurrilitie. The likelier is *Aristotles* sentence & authority to prevaile with you, that yong men might be stained by hearing of his railing, [l] his [l] *Iambicall speeches* as *Aristotle* termeth them. At least *Syr Thomas Eliots* [m] words of *playing at football*, that *therein is nothing but beastly furie, & extreame violence, whereof proceedeth hurt, and consequently rancour & malice doe remaine with them that be wounded*, may moue you to thinke that there was danger of anoying our youth by *Melanthius* action, [n] *striking and girding* (like *Silenus* [o] Asse) at *Vlysses with his heele*. For boyes affecting football, will argue peradventure, that seeing such horseplay was vsed by *Melanthius*, & hee might strike *Vlysses* body with his foot; more lawfull should it bee for them to strike a ball so: and what *Cato* would not be delighted to see them break one anothers shinnes? or who was that Vicechancellour, what a cõvocation, that made our Vniversities statute to the contrarie? Thus are your particular conclusions overthrowne, even by those passions which the parties mentioned might imprint in others. How much more in themselues? Whose mindes in what danger they are of infection, by meditating and studying sundry daies, or weekes, how to expresse the manners of wantons, or drunkards, or country-wooers liuely, the seeing whereof plaied but an houre, or two, might taint the spectators: I wish with all mine heart, that I may rather seeme in vaine to haue feared, then they should by experience feele. Your conclusion general: faileth more and more yet, because *evill affections might be stirred vp* by other parts then these: as namely, by your new parts of *Pandarus* and *Nais*. The former, after a sort confessed by your selfe, in that you demand; *who could bee the worse for Phædra's wooing Hippolytus in so generall tearmes?* For this doth insinuate that through *Pandarus wooing him in*

speciall

k Iam 3 5.
l Ἰαμβεῖον such as these are; Eumœne impudens, Quo gurgitem hũc tristemq; mẽsarum omnes voraginem ipsam ducis, & verè infimum Barathrum macelli? liminibus humeros sibi detrivit iste pluribus; quadram aptior. Purgare lingua, qua quatere jaculum manu. &c. Vlyss. red. act. 2
m In the Govern. l 1. c. 27.
n Vlyssem calce ferit.
o Calce feritur a selli Ovid. Fastor. lib. 3.

speciall tearmes, so speciall, that incestuous [p] *Myrrha* went no farther (as [q] *Ovid* thought fit to describe it) not in her secret [r] thoughts, some might be the worse. The latter, most evident by that which is [s] recorded to haue come to passe in the citty of *Abdêra*. Where, when at midsummer, in very hot weather, *Andromeda* (a Tragœdie of *Euripedes*) being plaied, many brought home a burning ague from the theater: about the seaventh day following, they were ridde thereof, some by much bleeding, some by sweating, but all, as soone as they were abroad out of their beddes, did fall into a strange distemper and passion of a light phrensie. The which exciting them to say and cry aloud such things as were sticking freshly, in their memorie, and had affected most their minde, [t] they grew all to Tragedie playing, and full lustily they sounded out [u] *Iambicall speeches*: their tongues harping chiefly on *Euripides*, *Andromeda*, and the [x] melodious wordes of *Perseus* touching loue. So that the whole citty was full of pale and thinne folke, pronouncing like stage-players, and braying with a lowd voice, But [y] *O Cupido, prince of Gods and men*, with the rest of that part: vntill at length the winter and cold, waxing great, asswaged their distemper, and eased them of their fanticke follie. A word to a wise man is enough. That speech, *But O Cupido, Prince of Gods and men*, vttered vnder *Perseus*, that is, a mans person, was of all likelihood lesse pearcing and patheticall, then yours, *O quàm iuvaret igne tam pulchro mori*, vttered by *Nais*, a woman, and a *Nymph*. It was well that shee plaied in winter, not in summer. For [z] *Perseus* loved *Andromeda* in the way of mariage too, as *Nais* did *Hippolytus*. But the force of loue-pangs, and the care of lawfulnesse, ioine not their dwelling houses together still in all hearts. Wherefore you are so farre off from having proued that *no evill affection could bee stirred vp in any by your plaies*: that I can hardly remember any evill affection, which might not bee stirred vp thereby in many, not onely in the actors, but the spectators also. And I thinke your selfe, if you pervse advisedly this which I haue written, and diligently compare it with your *Vlysses redux*, *Rivales*, and *Hippolytus*, will take time of respite before you name

p Fit equo sua filiaconiux, Quasq; creavit, init pecudes caper, & Gentes tamẽ esse feruntur in quibus & nato genitrix, et nata parenti jungitur; vt pietas geminato crescat amore.

q Metamorph. lib. 10.

r Et secũ, Quo mente seror? quid molior inquit, etc.

s Lucian. quomodo hist. scribend. sit.

t ἀπόντες εἰς τραγῳδίαν παρεκινοῦντο.

u Ἰαμβεία.

x Ἐν μέλει.

y σύδω θεῶν τύραννε ἠ ἀνθρώπων ἱρῶς.

z Herodot. Polymn. Ovid. Metamor. lib. 4.

name as much as one inordinate passion; whereto I shall not quote, at least one plaiers part, perhaps two, or three, that may be as oyle vnto the fire. Howbeit, had you proued the contrary hereof, yet is my conclusion entire, as I said, and your plaies vnlawfull: because it is vnlawfull to imitate and resemble any misbehaviour; and your selfe cannot deny but sundrie lewdnesses were imitated and resembled in each of your playes.

Herein is that confuted withall by the way, which otherwhere you mention as an intent sufficient to iustifie & warrant your *coming on the stage*: namely that *you doe it to practise your style, either in prose or verse; to be well acquainted with Seneca, or Plautus; honestly to imbolden your youth; to trie their voices, & cõfirme their memories, to frame their speech; to conforme thẽ to conuenient action; to trie what mettle is in every one, and of what disposition they are.* For although you aimed at all these things, and hit them, which as I haue shewed in one branch to bee false, so must you grant it in some other; vnlesse you will say, that to arme a youth with a [h] *Whores forehead, is honestly to imbolden him*; or, *by trying what mettall is in every one*, you meane the occasioning of them to giue proofe whether their [a] *browes* bee made of *brasse*; but admitting all were euen as you pretend: yet your stage-playing being conuicted of vnlawfulnesse, your pretenses for it are grinded all to powder; [b] *iust is their damnation, who say, Let vs doe evill that good may come thereof*, Our great and first parents, [c] seduced by the serpent, did eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree: to the intent that they might become like to God, *and know both good and evill*. The [h] knowledge of good and evill, is to be wished: but because the [i] meanes was ioined with disobedience, it had beene better for them to haue lacked that knowledge. Among the *Lacedæmonians*, [k] boyes by their publike order were instructed, and through want of victuals were provoked to steale meat: that being occasioned thereby to watch at night, while others were sleeping, and to lye in wait by day time for their pray, they might be the skilfuller to circumvent & spoile their enimies in warre.

The end good and commendable, as hee who [l] *taught David*

[b] Ier. 3 3.
[a] Esai. 48.4.
[b] Rom. 3. 8.
[c] Gen. 3. 5.
[d] Heb 5.14.
[e] Gen. 2. 17.
[f] Xenoph. de rep. Lacedæmon.
[l] 2. Sam. 22. 35 Psal. 144. 1.

vid to fight, assureth vs: but [q] *David* was not taught it by pilfering and stealing. *Parmeno* in [r] *Terence* telleth what commoditie *Charea* might purchase by cõming into *Thais* house: to *bee acquainted with the nature and manners of harlots, that knowing them betime he might for ever hate them.* To hate them is a qualitie [s] *beseeming* vertuous persons: but who so by acquaintance with them doe seeke to hate them, are likely to bee evill qualified; for [t] *can a man goe vpon coales, and his feet not be burnt?* But here you wil reply perease that in *Charea*, beside the good effect which *Parmeno* did boast of, some bad effects might fall out, [u] through the seeing of *Iupiters* picture with *Danaë*, and being neere to *Pamphila*: which in your plaies can not be feared. But I haue prevented this reply by shewing that [*] your *Danaes* picture with *Melanthos* talke may breed some bad effects in a *Charea* too, though he were a beholder onely of your plaies, much more if hee bee a plaier himselfe. Wherefore if *a dead flye doth cause the sweet ointment of the Apothecarie to stinke*, as the [x] wise man saith: what a loathsome sauor must needs so great store of such carrain breed in the perfume of eloquence, into the which you cast it? Beside that, to come nearer you, the ointment and perfume it selfe commended by you, hath a rammish smell, and stinketh like a goat: as a good Apothecarie, and of very quicke sent, [y] *Quintilian*, I meane, acknowledgeth and avoucheth. For hee, [z] requiring [a] *chiefly that young and tender mindes* [b] *should not onely learne such things as are well vttered, but, & that much rather, such things as are honest*; forbiddeth them to read at all any *poëms of* [c] *amatorie phansies, at least,* [d] *till they bee growne to greater maturitie of yeares, and strength of age.* In which sort hee alloweth them to read *Menanders Comedies also, and others,* [e] *when they be past danger of hauing their manners corrupted.* And their [f] *style* he willeth to be exercised in *common places, either against vices, or touching doubtfull questions; in praising good, disprayfing evill: in reporting truth; in defence of innocencie; and the like matters* that may serue an [g] honest man in vse of life. Their [h] *memorie* he wisheth to be *confirmed by learning without books sometime somewhat of their owne, well penned; but principally,*

[q] Deut. 5. 19. 1. Sam. 25. 7.
[r] Eunuch. act. 5. scen. 4.
[s] Psal. 139. 21.
[t] Prov. 6. 28.
[u] Act 3. scen. 5
[*] Arce quum Danaë procos Arceret aka, &c. Vyss. red. act. 3.
[x] Eccles. 10. 1.
[y] Quintiliane vagæ modgrator summe iuventæ, gloria Romanæ Quintiliane togæ. Mart. l. 2. epigr. 90.
[z] Orator. institut. l. 1. c. 14.
[a] In primis.
[b] non modoq; diserta, sed vel magis quæ honesta sunt, discant.
[c] Vtique, quæ amat.
[d] Ad firmius ætatis robur reserventur.
[e] Quum mores in tuto fuerint. Vide l. 2. cap. 2.
[f] Lib. 2. cap. 1. & 4. & 11.
[g] Orator vir. bonus lib. 1. in in proœm. & lib. 12. cap. 1.
[h] Lib. 2. cap. 8.

places elected and chosen out of Orations, or stories, or other kind of [i] *writings worthie that care and studie that they* [k] *may accustome themselues to the best, and haue their style holpen many waies thereby.* Finallie, for [l] *framing of speech, voice, and gesture,* he would not haue them *imitate the voice of Women, or old men; nor expresse the faults of drunkennesse; not bee taught to play the slaues; nor learne the affection and passion of lone, of covetousnesse, of feare. Which things are neither necessarie,* saith he, [m] *for an Orator; and* [n] *they doe corrupt the minde, in childhood specially, while it is tender yet and vnacquainted with things; because* [o] *such as those are whom we imitate much, such our selues become.* Behold the great difference betweene a heathen mans conceit of the instructing of Orators for civill causes, & yours, of Christian Preachers, or whatsoever place your Students shall be called to in Church or Common weale, at least of honest men and Christians.

Hee would haue no *amatorie poëms*, neither *Comedies*, no not [p] *Menanders*, that is, the [q] best of all to bee read by his youth: you, as if *Phædra's* amorous speech expressed by *Seneca* were nothing without a peece of menstruous cloath sowed to it, doe occasion yours to make themselues familiar and wel acquainted with *Plautus*, [r] one farre beneath the best. He would haue his youth to *practise their style in good things, as in* [s] *weapons, which they may vse when need shall be*: you practise yours in speeches entising men to *Venerie*, to ribauldrie, to scurrilitie, to whoredome, to incest, to other abominations. Hee would haue his youth to commit most excellent things and words to memorie; you pester yours with filth, such filth in *Rivales* (I am ashamed to rehearse it) as cannot be matched, I thinke, sure very hardly, throughout all *Plautus*. Hee would not haue his youth [t] to counterfeit a womans voice: you procure *Minerva, Pevelepe, Eurycles, Antonoë, Eurynome, Hippodamia, Melantho, Phædra*, the *Nurse*, the *Nymph*, besides I knowe not whom in the vnprinted *Comedie*, to bee played by yours. He would [u] not haue his youth to *represent the faults of drunkennesse*: yours must flant it out in most vnmodest guise, with vnseemely barbarous carousing songs and speeches, and

be

i Dignorum ea cura voluminum.
k Assuescent optimis.
l Lib. 1. cap. 19
m Oratori.
n Mentem, præcipuè in ætate prima teneram adhuc & rudem inficiant.
o Frequens imitatio transit in mores.
p Lib. 10 c. 1.
q Omnibus ejusdem operis autoribus abstulit nomē.
r Horat. de art. poet. vives, l. 3. de tradend. disciplin. Scalig. poetic. lib. 6. cap 3.
s Arma sunt hæc quodammodo præparanda semper, vt his, quum res poscet, vtaris.

t Fœminæ vocis exilitate frangi.
u Nec vitia ebrietatis effingat.

be defended top by the braue example of *Lacedemoniã* ſlaues. Hee would [x] not haue his youth to bee imbrued and tainted with *ſlaviſh behaviour*; for yours it is an ornament to play the goatheard *Melanthius*, or a bragging ſouldier, or a clowniſh wooer. In fine, hee would [y] not haue his youth to learne the paſſion of amorouſneſſe and loue; [z] nor to be *ſtage-player-like in action and geſture*: you breed yours in ſtage-playing, as *conforming them to conuenient action*; and teach them to reſemble the pangs of loue in manner of moſt amorous *Nymphes*, with [a] burning exclamations, and [b] phanſies of *Poeticall* fables. S[t] *Auſtin* reprouing the courſe of the world which traineth vp their children in *Poets* wanton tales of *Iupiters adulteries*, and vſeth to defend their cuſtome by ſaying, *Hence are wordes learned, hence is eloquence gotten forſooth*, ſaith hee, *belike wee could not know theſe words, imbrem aureum*, and *gremium*, and *fucum*, and *templa cæli*, and *the reſt there written, vnleſſe* [d] *Terence had brought in a lewd young man propoſing Iupiter to himſelfe for an example of whoredome, while he beholdeth on the wall a certaine painted table, wherein was this pitture; how Iupiter ſent a* [e] *golden ſhowre, they ſay, of olde time into the* [f] *lappe of Danaë,* [g] *vnder the colour thereof to beguile a woman. And ſee how he ſtirreth vp himſelfe to luſt as it were by the inſtruction of a heauenly maſter. But what God? ſaith hee. Even that God which ſhaketh* [h] *the ſanctuaries of heauen with thunder. Should not I, who am a mortall wretch, doe the ſame? Yes indeed, I did it, and gladly.* [i] *No, no*, ſaith S[t] *Auſtin, theſe words are not learned the more conueniently by meanes of this diſhoneſtie: but this diſhoneſtie is wrought the more conſidently by meanes of theſe words.* Thus did that diſcreet and godly Father iudge of cauſing ſuch deuiſes of *Poets* to bee learned by children yea although the Poëts were as good as *Terence* and the children as well inclined as himſelfe. For himſelfe it is, of whom [k] hee confeſſeth that [l] *he learned many profitable words in vaine, Poeticall phanſies; but ſuch as both may bee learned in things not*

x Ne ſerili vernilitate imbuatur.
y Nec amoris & ſcat affectum
z Plurimum aberit à ſcenico geſtu.
a O quàm iuuaret igne tã pulchro mori.
b Tu noſtris, precor, Nymphas amare ne puta in ſylvis nefas. Aurora Cephalo, Salmacis puero ſuo, Adon de venus Latmio iuuene & tua, Hippolyte, quondam exarſit arcitenens Dea. In tam beato, quæſo numereutur grege.
c Confeſſion. lib. 1 cap. 16.
d In Eunucho
e Imbrem aureum.
f Gremium.
g Fucum.
h Templa cæli
i Non : mihi no per hanc turpitu inem verba iſta cõmodius diſcuntur; ſed per hæc verba turpitudo iſta confidentius perpetratur. & Aug. confeſſ. lib. 1. cap. 15
l Didici in eis multa verba vtilia: ſed & quæ in rebus non vanis diſci poſſunt; & ea via tuta eſt in qua pueri ambulare debent.

vaine, & that is a safe way wherein children ought to walke. On which consideration sundry men of note in our memory also, not only among professors of purer religion, but even among the Papists, haue advised Schoolmasters & instructors of youth either not to read *Terence* to their Schollers, or if they wil read him, not to read him all. [h] *Ludovicus Vives*, hauing declared in generall out of [i] *Plutarch* touching the reading of *Poëts*, that, vnlesse you vse it most warily, it hurteth; and therefore, if a *childe* may be allowed to meddle with it, *their writings would be purged first, & filthy matters be wholly cut out of them*: Doth wish the same concerning *Terence* in speciall *for those things which might defile the mindes of children with such faults and vices, as naturally we are prone to.* *Ignatius Loiola*, a man no worse minded in certaine points then were the olde *Iewish* [k] *Pharises*, whose [l] sect in his offspring of *Iesuits* hee hath renued, [m] did forbidde *Terence to bee read in Schooles (vnlesse he were purged) least he should more annoy their manners by his wantonnesse, then by his Latine helpe their wits.* [n] *Georgius Fabricius*, not seeing how he may be well purged to this purpose, because the conditions of fond or bad persons, as of *Lovers, Whores, murmurers, mizers, fretters, ruffians, varlets, flatterers, boasters, bawdes and sycophants*, that is, *the most of those things which Comedies entreat of, belong to stronger mindes, and to an age confirmed and stayed with some iudgement, not to vnskilfull children, before whom they are better omitted and concealed*; *Fabricius* therefore grounding himselfe vpon the iudgement of [o] *Aristotle*, and [p] *Quintilian*, both applied to *Terence*, resolveth that *hee is not to be read at all to youthes of tender yeares.* Wherevnto a light of our Vniversity and country, *D. Humfrey* subscribeth and agreeth, in that vpon occasion of shewing how Noblemens children and Gentlemens should bee brought vp in learning, [q] he saith that *they may haue Terence read vnto them, but then, when they shall be growne in age and iudgement.* Though doubting least evē then too the * *poyson* of his *filthines* may be more forcible then the *cōter-poyson* to be vsed against it, he addeth that *he would not graunt him this place neither in their education, but that Tullie had made much account of him,*

and.

[h] De tradend. disciplin. lib. 3.

[i] μὴ ἅψει τῶν ποιητικῶν ἀκρατῶς.

[k] Act. 23 8.

[l] Mark. 7. 9.

[m] Pet. Master. vita Ign. Loi. lib. 3. cap 8.

[n] Epist. ad Augustum Ducem Saxoniæ.

[o] Politicor. li. 7. cap. vlt.

[p] Lib. 1. cap. 17

[q] Laur. Humfred. de nobilit. lib. 3.

* Si quid insit obscœni, fidelis diligentia boni præceptoris medeatur: & aliorum librorum lectio, tanquam pharmacum, pellat quicquid in est toxicum.

and profited in eloquence by him. Now the ſame reaſons, that, in choiſe of authors to be read by vs, exclude ſo fine a Poet, & ſend vs vnto purer fountaines of good literature: doe likewiſe in the practiſe of ſtyle, the frame of ſpeech, and imploiment of memorie, exclude ſuch points and matters as *Terence* is excluded for, & commend vnto vs more commendable arguments to exerciſe our wittes, our tongues, our pennes in. Which the wiſe Founders and Governours of the worthy Colledges and companies of ſtudents here among vs did very well conſider: taking order therefore that by rendring and rehearſing of *Ariſtotle or Tullie*; by writing, pronouncing, declaiming, diſputing, of queſtions in ſundry faculties and arts, the vſe whereof may ſerue them afterward to purpoſe, young men, ſhould be made the readier and fitter to confirme the truth, to confute errors, to dehort from evill things, and inſtruct to good. Neither doth your ſubtle matching and comparing of theſe ſcholaſticall exerciſes with enterludes and plaies, in as much as you tell me that *if I had but ſaid that your plaies were toies, vnneceſſary, vaine it had beene no more perhaps then is, in ſtrictneſſe, true, becauſe* [r] *vnum modo neceſſarium; and he that had tried all things, of his owne wiſe experience pronounceth,* [ſ] *vanitas vanitatum, & omnia vanitas, yea, even learning and wiſdome, and all things elſe, except the feare of God which endureth for ever, & you haue heard a godly & a learned Preacher in the pulpit affirme, that our declamations, oppoſitions, ſuppoſitions, and ſuch ſcholaſticall exerciſes, are no better then vaine things:* but theſe three autorities, wherein you ſaw no ſtrength ſufficient to perſwade you that your *plaies* are certainly *vnneceſſary* and *vaine*, (your ſpeech concerning the you lay in water with *perhaps*) doe not convince indeede our *diſputations, declamations*, with the like *exerciſes*, to be ſo. For when our Sauiour ſaid that [t] *one thing is needefull*, ſpeaking of [u] *the good part which Marie had choſen* in that [w] *ſhee heard* [x] *his preaching, the word of God preached by him*: he did not by commending the needfulneſſe of the end, condemne the meanes, as needleſſe, wherby the ende is attained to. Nay, hee did imply rather that the meanes are conſequently needfull: as if a naturall man ſhould

r Luk. 10. 42.
[Eccleſ. 12. 8.

t Luk. 10. ver. 42.
u ver. 39.
x τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ.

say. *We must liue*, his meaning were that we must haue sustenance to liue by. And how shall mē [x] *heare* the word of GOD preached, vnlesse there be *Preachers* to expound it? How can Preachers expound it, vnles they learne the way of [y] *cutting it aright and applying it*? How can they learne the way ordinarily: vnlesse they be trained vp in Logicke and Rhetorick? The necessary vse whereof for the sound interpreting of Scripture, it may be that you heard [z] me shew against the *Brownists*, as well as you heard the Preacher whom you speake of: or if you did not, Saint [a] *Austin*, or [b] *Hyperius*, may serue to informe you. The arts then of *Rhetoricke* & *Logicke* are requisit to preaching of the word. And the exercises of declaiming, answering, opposing, doe helpe to breede ripenesse in those arts. Our Saviours sentence therefore that *one thing is needfull*, argueth not those exercises to be vnnecessarie. No more doth *Solomons* saying that *all things are vanitie*, proue them to be *vaine*. For out of [*] *those all things* himselfe doth except, *the* [c] *feare of God* (as you note) and (as you should haue noted) *the keeping of Gods commandements*. Wherefore sith our Students be commanded by God [d] *to employ the pieces of mony* that hee hath given them, in trade and traficke as it were, to *make gaine thereof*; and the trade, wherein they must employ their time, is, to get themselues all instruments of learning, by which they [e] *may be able to* [f] *exhort with wholsome doctrine; and* [g] *convince such as gainsay it*: their practise of *exhortation and convincing faculties, of declamation, of clenches, of oppositions and suppositions*, cannot be condemned, as *vaine*, by his word, by whom [h] *the evill servant* is condemned, as [i] *vnprofitable*, for [k] *hiding his talent in the earth*. Well may you haue heard a *Preacher in the pulpit affirme* that which you mention: but I doubt whether you vnderstood him well. For you alleadg him so, as if he had pronounced those *exercises* simply, & in themselues, *vaine*. Which it were iniurious to thinke, that a *learned and a Godly Preacher* (such doe you report him, & I, not knowing who it was, doe beleeue you) should purpose to affirme: seeing Christ [l] whose mouth was never defiled with toy or any *vaine thing*, vsed certaine of them, as *oppositions* namely. For what are [m] *oppositions*

x Rom. 10. 14.
y 2 Tim. 2. 15.
z Prælectioni. in epist. ad Coloss. cap. 2. ver. 8.
a De doctr. Christ. lib. 2. cap 31. & sequentibus.
b De rat. stud. theolog. lib. 1. cap 4.
* Heb. *H A C. C O L* with *H E* (an article as it were) expressed & expounded by Tremellius. & Iunius, Eccl. 7. 2 & 12. 10.
c Eccle. 12. 13.
d Luk. 19. 13.
e Tit. 1. 9.
f παρακαλεῖν.
g Ἐλέγχειν.
h Mat. 25. v. 26.
i ver 30.
k ver. 25.
l Heb 7. 27.
m Aristot. Topic. lib. 1. & 8.

positions but arguments obiected against a point in question? What was it but an argument obiected so by *Christ*, when against the [m] *Sadduces, denying the resurrection*, [n] he vrged a text of *Moses*? and against the [o] *Pharisees*, holding no more of *Christ but that he was Davids sonne*, a [p] testimony of *David*: Yea, in this later he did that which of all things in our disputations might seeme to be most *vaine*, obiect [q] against a truth, although with purpose for the truth. It is not to be thought then, that the *Preacher*, *terming* our *exercises vaine*, meant that they are such simply and in themselues; but as they are vsed by vs, by many of *vs*, to sundry fruitlesse ends, not to make vs fitter for the [r] *good* and [s] *needfull edifying of men*: nor to advance [t] *godlines profitable for all things*, but to encrease or make a shew of [u] that *knowledge*, which therfore is called [x] *vanitie* by the wise man, because it hath [y] no *permanent* and lasting commoditie; [z] nor bringeth vs saluation and eternall life. Wherof it doth no more follow that the exercises are vaine, as you conclude; then if one should reason that *the feare of God*, (which you except) is *vaine*, vpon that place of *Esay*, [a] *Their feare toward me is taught by the precept of men*. For, if, notwithstanding that [b] *the Iewes worshipped and feared God in vaine*, *fearing* him amisse according to the *precepts of men*, not to his word, yet the feare of God is most beneficiall, and [a] was to some among the *Iewes* too: then *may declamations, suppositions, oppositions, and such scholastical exercises be profitable and fruitfull*, even vnto some among vs also, though many of vs make them *vanitie of vanities*, as vaine as that [b] *strife* is which Saint Paul reproueth, I meane, both [c] voide of wholsome iuice, & [d] full of poison. But to what purpose are these discourses, will you say, of exercises fit for schollers, and *Terence* not to be read vnto them, till they be of riper yeares & iudgment? To let you vnderstand, that whereas you tell vs, *you come vpon the stage to practise your stile, to acquaint your selues with Plautus, to embolden your youth, to try their voices, confirme their memories, frame their speech and action*; you are so farre from iustifying your plaies by this defence, that you condemne the more. For if the *tale* of *Iupiter* with *Danaë*, in *Eunuchus*, should not

m Mat. 22. ver. 23.
n ver. 31.
o ver. 42.
p ver. 43.
q ver. 45.
r Eph. 4. 29.
s Οἰκοδομὴν τῆς χρείας.
t 1 Tim. 4. 8.
u Eccles. 1. ver. 13.
x ver. 14.
y ver 3.
z ver. 15.
a Esa. 29. 3.
b Mat. 15. 9.
a Mal. 5. 16.
b 2 Tim. 2. 14.
c Ἐστὶ δὲ λίαν αἰσχρὸν.
d Ἐστὶ καταπρόωρον τῶν ἀκροατῶν.

not be read to such as your *Melantho* and *Nais*: much lesse should they be taught the same tale [e] vrged farther, in *Vlysses redux*; & lesse yet another tale of [f] wanton *Salmacis* [g] with *her boy*, in *Hippolytus*. If they should not as much as salute *Terence*, the finest Comicall Poet, for purenes of the latin tongue in [h] *Tullies*, iudgment: much lesse should they be made well acquainted with *Plautus*; and lesse yet with *Riuales*. If they should not be suffered to pervse writings of base & filthy qualitie, nor to cast their eyes, as it were vpon them: much lesse should they engraue them by heart in their remembrance, expresse them with voice, commend them with action, deliver them with boldnes. If they should not exercise their stile, their speech, their memorie, but in honest, vertuous, and commendable matters, which in vse of life may serue the to good purpose: much lesse should they meditate how they may inflame a tender youth with loue; entise him to daliance, to whordome, to incest; invre their mindes and bodies to vncomely, dissolute, railing, boasting, knavish, foolish, brainsicke, drunken conceits, words, and gestures. Wherefore to the *Timothees*, that are among your Students, I must say in like sort as Saint Paul to *Timothie*: [i] *Consider what I say and the Lord give you vnderstanding in all things.*

e Nulla aureo resistet imbri. f Ovid Metamorph. lib. 4.
g Salmacis puero suo.
h Limone, apud Donatū in vita Terentij.
i 2 Tim. 2. 4.

Now the inconveniences and mischiefes of your plaies being so notorious and manifold, as I haue shewed: the rest of mine answer opposed to your reasos devised for their defense, will easily deliuer it selfe from your cavills. For where you having said that your Sudents did not *misspend their time therein, because they spent no more time then vseth to be spent in sports sleepe, talke, and learned releasing of the minde from studie*; and hauing added thereto that, *sith there is a time for sports, plaies, danses, and man consisting not of one part alone doth need recreation, therefore you may be stage-plaiers*; I answered to the former, that *by the like reason a student haunting a dicing house, or taverne, or stewes, might proue that he did not misspend his time thereat*; to the later, *that recreation is necessary for Scholders, yet would it not beseeme them to play at stoole-ball among wenches, nor at Mumchance or Maw with idle lost companions*;

ons; nor at trunkes in Guile-halls, nor to dance about Maypoles, nor to rifle in alehouses, nor to carowse in Taverns, nor to steale Deere, nor to robbe Orchards: you reply that *to compare your plaies to these things, it exceedeth the compasse of any tollerable resemblance*; and therevpon reftsoones you surname them *hard and incomparable comparisons*. Wherein how incompara-bly you lauish out of measure, and exceed the compasse of any reasonable speech, you may quickly see, now that I haue proved your plaies to be evill: sith these things being likewise evill and disorderly, and so agreeing with them in a generall point, it is cleere they may be resembled therevnto.

The Scripture compareth [f] our Saviour to an [*] *vsurer*, who desireth *gaine* by the *mony* he lendeth; [g] *the children of light to an vniust steward*, who *maketh himselfe friends with his maisters goods* against a time of neede, [h] *the coming of the Lords day to a theefe in the night*, who cometh suddenly and vnlooked for. Comparisons not tollerable, if the speciall qualities of *vsurers*, of *vniust men*, of *theeues*, should be meant: but very good and fit, if wee marke the generall points that they are matched in. Or, if Scripture-eloquence, which yet S[ti] *Austin* magnifieth, seeme base in your eyes; though, seeme it never so base, I trust you will not say that to *compare our Saviour*, & so forth, to *these things, it exceedeth the compasse of any tollerable resemblance*: but the eloquence, the learning, the authority of *Homer, whose wit* ([k] you say) [l] *enlightned both men and Gods together*, whose [m] *maiestie* you worship with [n] *praier and* [o] *thanksgiuing*, to [p] *whom* you wish *eternall glory*, and call him [q] *the eternall old man*, will suffice to open your eyes and stop your mouth. For he compareth [r] valiant *Aiax* to an *asse, that being in a corn-field will not be driven out with any cudgels of boies till he haue filled his belly; the* [s] *Grecians and Troians about Sarpedons carkasse the flies about a milke-paile in a warme spring-time*, all busy and loath to leaue it. There are [t] who finde fault with these comparisons, I graunt, as ouer base and abiect: but your adoration of *Homer* doth perswade me, that you will make more of [u] his censure, who for the generall drift therof, approueth them. At least you shall be forced to yeeld by your owne

[f] Mat. 25. 27.
[*] Τοκισταῖς.
[g] Luk. 16. 8.
[h] 1 Thes 5. 2.
[i] De doctrin. Christ. lib. 4. cap. 6.
[k] Viy sred. Prolog. & epilog.
[l] Illuminavit & homines simul & deos.
[m] Dignetur humilem tãta maiestas tua Induere iocum.
[n] Haurire cyathum fonte nos largo fine.
[o] Benignitati gratias agimus tuæ.
[p] Æterna maneat gloria in terris tibi.
[q] Nam quis eterno seni Pat esse poterit?
[r] Iliad lib. 11. lib. 16.
[s] Hieron. vid. & Lud. viv. lib. 3. de tra. disciplin.
[t] Iul. Scalig. poëtic. lib. 5. cap. 3.

owne words, in as much as hauing compared our reproofe of your expense in plaies to [x] their speech who said of their costly ointment powred vpon *Christs* head, *what needed this waste?* and being told the differences of that fact from yours, you say, that *though you know there is an infinite difference* betweene *yours and the action against which it was hypocritically first vsed: yet you thinke it may also bee applied against, either the niggardise, or the hypocrisie of any Momus, that shall condemne all expense as cast away, that is sometimes moderately bestowed vpon honest sports and pastimes.* For how can it be chosen but to compare your charges on plaies to those *on Christ*, must needs *exceede the compasse of any tollerable resemblance*: vnlesse things agreeing in a generall point, as you suppose (though falsly) these to doe in honesty, may be very well resembled each to other? And [y] why should you repooue it in me as a *hard incomparable deede*; when you thinke it *comparable* and soft in your owne case? Chiefly, sith *you know*, that even in the degree of *honest matters too*, whereo *expenses are made, there is an infinite difference betweene the actions*: which you match: I can not say so of those that I compare. Nay, some of the things that I compare your stage-plaies with, are lesse evill; as namely, for *schollers to play at stooleball among wenches*: which to doe by dailight, in open streets, in their owne likenesse, were not so vnmeete and vnconvenient for them, as to be attired in womens raiment, by women, within doores, in the night time to goe to and fro, and come vpon the stage, and play *Melantho*, or *Nais*. Contrariwise, the action wherewith you match yours; was *infinitely better*, as your selfe acknowledge: and had, as you must also acknowledge, [z] lesse bestowed thereon, then yours had. So that your consecution doth halt here againe; *It was no waste to bee at lesser cost in working a good worke on Christ; Ergo it is no waste to be at greater charges in setting forth of plaies.* But mine is vnreproueable; *It beseemeth not schollers to play at stooleball among wenches, though modest and chast; Therefore it beseemeth them not to play Wanton women on the stage.* The same may I say of the two comparisons, which herewithall you checke; the former, alleadged out

[x] Mat. 26. 8.

[y] Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes? Iuuenal. sat. 2.

[z] τριακοσίων δηναρίων, or ἀνὰ τριακοσίους, it was esteemed by them, who amplified it to the vttermost. Mark. 14. 5. Ioh. 12. 5. And that may amount to nine or ten pound of our mony.

of

of *Salvianus*, or out of *Scripture* rather: the latter adioined by mee for illustrating and opening the former; to weet, that *with the plaiers of lewd and naughty parts it fareth as with a foole committing wickednesse in pastime; and they are like a mad man, who casteth firebrands, arrowes, and mortall things, and saith, was I not in sport? For a mad man casting firebrands*, and the like, endangereth bodies only: the plaiers of lewde partes doe endanger soules. And *a foole committing wickednes in pastime* hath seldome many admirers and followers to hurt: the plaiers haue as many, as a great Theater holdeth, and can heare them say, But *O Cupido*, or, *O quam iuvaret*. Wherefore when you amplifie herevpon, & tell mee, *you could haue wisht that such comparisons had beene forborne, if not for the plaies themselues, though also they ought for the plaies themselues, being things that savour of some wit, learning, and iudgment; yet in respect of the actors, your whole house, the spectators, approovers, authors, writers*; all which points you load with patheticall circumstances otherwhere treated of: you force mee to say I could haue wisht also that you had forborne these Galba trickes of seeking to preiudice the truth and equity of causes with partiall affections and *respect of persons*, a q thing condemned by *Scripture*; and that you had considered that if *plaies savouring of some wit learning, and iudgement, ought not to be compared to such things as I mentioned*, then your selfe did ill in praising and allowing that part of my discourse, wherein *the foole and mad man* serued for *comparisons*. For you gaue testimony thereof, that *I had written copiously and truly against the bad effects of stage-plaies in generall*. Yea specifying the proofes that I made by sundry examples & authorities, among which the autority of *Salvianus* was, you soothed it as containing a *truth, and well handled*. But the stage plaies spoken of by *Salvianus*, did *savour of some wit, learning, and iudgement*: as what play doth not? At least of all those that any ancient Poët wrote. Your reason therefore brought from *the savour of wit, learning and iudgement*, to crosse my comparisons, doth crosse your owne allowance of that which you acknowledged to be well spoken *against the bad effects of stage-plaies in generall.*

q Lev. 19. 15. Prov 24 23. Iam. 8, 1.

r Apollodor. de orig Deor. lib. 3.

rall. And thus, as r *Lycurgus* the *Thracian* imagining that hee was hewing down a vine with his hatchet, is said to haue slain his sonne, and maimed himselfe: likewise you intending to shew that *my comparisons are hard and incomparable, and exceede the compasse of any tollerable resemblance, and should haue beene forborne*, haue wounded vnawares your *eternall old man*, and your selfe grievously.

A more grievous wound haue you giuen your selfe in saying that *you presumed your plaies to be lawfull*, when you made your *simple assertion* (so you terme it) that *there is a needfull time for sports*. For this is in effect as much as if you said, that you plaied the s *Sophister*; t *begging the point in question*, *and taking it as graunted*. The which kinde of dealing, if it had any sinewes to graple with an adversarie, the *Iesuits* might trouble vs, by saying that *the Catholike faith must be kept; and they presume that Poperie is the Catholike faith*. Likewise the meanest advocate in a court of law might speed all his clients, by saying that *such as haue wrong offered them, ought to be releeved; and he presumeth his clients haue so*. Neither had you needed to write so long a reply of twelue leaues to me: twelue words might haue sufficed, that *you presume my cause is naught, and naughty things must not be credited*. But your selfe acknowledge that *this proueth not the lawfulnes of your plaies*. So that, in affirming *you did presume them to bee lawfull*, and calling it a *simple assertion* which you avowed concerning *sports*, you speake more truth then you intended. For it is a *simple assertion* indeed to say that *sports are needfull*, against a mans arguments who saith that *stage-plaies are vnlawfull*. And hee may be iustly noted of *presumption*, who, being vnable to proue a thing he fancieth, condemneth them as *Momes* that are minded otherwise and bring sound proofe against it.

s Aristot. de repreh. Soph. Ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ λαμβάνειν, τὸ αἰτεῖσθαι.

Howbeit, had you kept your selfe within the compasse of such oversights, you were more excusable. But it is a greater fault to play the slanderer by falsifying mens words, and fathering vpon them an erroneous sentence, which neuer came into their mindes, nor fell out of their mouths or pennes. And what doe you else, when hauing said that *I vse many words against*

againſt daneing, you reply that *you loue to ſee honeſt dancing*; and, *you ſee no cauſe in reaſon, charitie, or Chriſtian libertie, why dancing ſhould ſimply bee condemned.* For hereby you inſinuate or pronounce rather, that *I condemned dancing ſimply, and honeſt dancing*: whereas my words were that *dances of Penelopes wooers, of Melantho, of other of her maides, and ſimply all ſtage-dancing doe ſauour of diſhoneſtie.* Which differeth as much from that you father on me as the ſpeech of *Chriſt*, [t] *Deſtroy ye this temple, & in three daies I will raiſe it vp againe*, meaning of *his body*, did differ from that which [u] *the falſe witneſſes* affirmed him to haue ſaid of *the temple of God*, [x] *the temple made with hands.* Nay, it ſurpaſſeth that of *the falſe witneſſes*: it differeth as much as if, where *Chriſt* ſaid, that [y] *all vngodly men ſhall periſh*, they had fathered on him that *all men ſhall periſh.* And your crime herein is the more blameworthie, becauſe I had ſo plainely excepted certaine dancing, that you cannot ſeeme to haue miſtaken my words, and read *all dancing*, for *all ſtage-dancing*; but wilfully and adviſedly to haue miſreported mee. For I ſaid expreſſely, *I meant thoſe dances that I ſpecified, and not* [z] *Dauids dancing, which* [a] *St Ambroſe doth well diſtinguiſh from them.* Now *St Ambroſe* ſaith that *Dauids religious and godly dancing is decent, but* [b] *the dangerous dancing practiſed by players, and the* [c] *fooliſh toyes, the dotages of the ſtage,* [d] *are faultie euen in youth too.* So both mine owne words, and the author I cited, doe manifeſtly ſhew, that when you tooke vpon you to praiſe *honeſt dancing*, and ſaid *you ſaw no cauſe in charity or reaſon why dancing ſhould ſimply be condemned*, you could not but *in reaſon and charity ſee cauſe, why you ſhould haue dealt more ſimply and honeſtly*, then ſo calumnioufly to raiſe a falſe ſurmiſe of me. You knowe what creature it is, whom the Scripture nameth a [e] *calumniator.*

t 1 Ioh. 2. 19.
u Mat. 26. 61.
x Mat. 14. 58.
y Luk. 13. 3. & 21. 18.
z 2. Sam. 6. 14.
a De pœnit. lib. 2 cap. 6.
b Saltationis lubricæ hiſtrionici motus.
c Scenæ deliramenta.
d Hæc etiam in adoleſcentula ætate vitioſa ſunt.
e Rev. 12. 9. ſατάν.

Beſide, as you offend in charging me with that I ſaid not: ſo in going about to overthrow that which I ſaid. For whereas I affirmed that *dancing of Penelopes wooers with her maides, and ſimply all ſtage-dancing*, is diſallowed *by the light of nature*; and for proofe thereof did alleage the teſtimonies, of *Romans* put by *Nero*, of *Philiſtines* putting *Sampſon* to it, and of *all ancient*

lawes in a manner, yea of reason it selfe, as *Arias Montanus* noteth: you, avouching two mens opinions to the contrary, doe adde, that to *apply either the dancing of those noble Romans, whom Nero enforced to dance so publikely*, or, *Sampsons dancing among the Philistines*; or, *the note of Arias Montanus*, against your *dancing only of two sober measures, is a comparison without all measure*. Wherein first, through negligence of marking my words, or desire of crossing them before you vnderstood them, you misreport my drift: and say that *I applyed those things against your dancing only of two sober measures*, (you meane, the wooers dancing with the maides) which I applied not against it alone, but against the rest of your *stage-dancing also*, that is, all your stage-playing. For this did I betoken by the name of *stage-dancing*, the better to expresse the sentence, that I had in hand, of Saint *Ambrose*, who by [g] *dancing* noteth *all histrionicall motions and playings on the stage*, in like sort as [h] *Horace* saith, [i] *one was requested to dance Polyphemus*, meaning to play his part; and [k] *Plancus danced Glaucus, in* [l] *Velleius* story; and [m] *stage-players daneed Oedipus, and Hercules*, *in* [n] *Macrobius*; and [o] *Arnobius* speaketh of [p] *dancing Europa, Leda, Ganymedes*. Neither was it hard for you to perceiue that I meant thus much, if you had better weighed the braches of my speech, & proofes thereto answering, concluded with the *note of Arias Montanus*, touching not only *dancers*, but *persons of such shewes and spectacles*. Chiefly if you had looked on the Author himselfe, and marked that in *the persons of such shewes and spectacles*, he [q] compriseth *stage-players*; as the generalitie of his words, exemplified by *Nero*, maketh plaine.

Another iniurie is it, that you terme those proofes of mine a *comparison*; & (which is more) *a comparison without all measure*. What [r] *measure* you did vse in the *mesing* out hereof, I cannot guesse: vnlesse peradventure, because that you haue heard that *comparisons are odious*, you hoped you should make

g Saltationis lubricæ histrionicos motus & scenæ deliramenta.

h Satyr. lib. 1. sat. 5. i Pastorem saltaret vti Cyclopa, rogabat: Nil illi larva, aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.

k Cæruleatus, & nudus, caputq; redimitus arundine, & caudam trahens genibus innixus, Glaucum saltavit.

l Lib. 2.

m Saltabat Hylas Oedipodem Pylades: ὡρχεῖτο ὁρχήσεως.

n Satur. lib. 2. cap. 7.

o Adevr. gent. lib. 7.

p Si Europa, si Leda, si Ganymedes fuerit saltatus, aut Dana compescit motum irarum Iuppiter?

q Hujus generis actiones ingenuo homine indignissimas duxerunt, qui de virtute vera, deq; corruptis hominum moribus prudenter loquuti sunt. Vt ille de Neronc: In scena nunquam cantavit Orestes, &c. Iuv. Sat. 8.

r Matt. 7. 2.

all

all my proofes odious by naming them *comparisons*. For I, having noted, against your argument drawne from *sports and recreations*, that sports by the light of nature, are accounted vnseemely, bad, infamous, and so is all stage-dancing; did alleage the iudgements of *Romans*, of *Philistines*, of *ancient lawes well nigh all*, and of *reason* it selfe, as testimonies to proue that proposition by; not as comparisons, but as testimonies. And therefore in the note of *Arias Montanus*, I did omit that hee saith of [f] *the law of God* condemning stage-plaies likewise, because that might goe higher then the *light of nature*. Otherwise, you may be sure that I, who cited him for mens *lawes*, a thing of weaker proofe, would not haue omitted the law of GOD, his strongest argument. But if I had ioined supernaturall light to *the light of nature*, and had produced testimonies of the *Scripture* also: would you haue replied, that, to alleage the *Scripture*, *is a comparison without all measure*? You must by like reason. And what should stay you from it? All would haue espied that it were no comparison. Why more, then the note of *Arias Montanus*? Which yet, when you had cast my allegation of the *Romans* and *Philistines* in such a mould, that it could not appeare I brought them in as testimonies; you named with them for company a *comparison* too. Though, seeing you are grieved with my applying of it against your *stage-dancing*, and that induced you to call it a *comparison*: me thinks you should haue fastned that odious name rather on the *proposition* proued by those testimonies. For the proofes reach not you immediatly, they fight not nigh at hand; the proposition doth; as being the major of that argument, wherof your stage-plaiers make the minor. And the proposition, condemning all *stage-dancing*, doth giue a deadlier wound; neither can it chuse but light on your stage-dancing: the proofes might seeme to be more easily avoided; or, comming so farre off, to raze the skinne only. Againe, my applying of the proposition to you, by the assumption, would deserue more worthily the name of a comparison: and the assumption being particular, or singular; the proposition vniversall; were not this *applying of all* against some, *a comparison without all measure*?

[f] Divina verò lex minimè admittenda censuit, invulgaribus etiam ac vilibus capitibus; & quæ sequuntur.

The

The third iniurious part offered me in this point, is, that you [t] alleage the iudgement of *Homer* and St *Thomas Eliot*, as making for that dancing, which I did reproue. And bringing in the former of them by a [u] *figure*, saying, *To omit Homers iudgement thereof*; himselfe you call *an excellent obſerver of decorum in all things*, and quote for his iudgement [a] *the eight booke of his Odyſſea*. Now, better had it been for you to omit him without a figure indeed: ſith hee, deſcribing there the life of King *Alcinous*, and of his people, the *Phæacians*, ſaith, that [x] *they tooke pleaſure* continually in *feaſting, and muſicke, and dancing, and bravery of apparell, and hot baths, and chambering*: wherein a liuely patterne of a wanton, riotous, voluptuous, Epicures life, being ſet forth by *Homer*, as [y] *Horace*, [z] *Athenæus*, [a] *Euſtathius* may teach you: if I ſhould not haue blamed *dancing* in your plaies, becauſe *ſuch an excellent obſerver of decorum*, ſaith he, *Phæacians* vſed it; then muſt the [b] *belly* bee your plaiers God, becauſe *ſuch an excellent obſerver of decorum* ſaith the *Phœacians* ſerued it. Moreouer ſeeing that the [c] *Muſicke* which the minſtrell gaue them to their *dancing*, was a [c] ſong of *Mars* taken *in adultery with Venus Vulcans wife*; and you *commend in dancing the number of the footing well expreſſing, anſwering, and as it were acting the meaſure and meaning of the Muſicke*: you ſee what good inſtructions you giue men by exto'ling your *excellent obſerver of decorum in all things*. Adde thereunto that he, ſo good an *obſerver of decorum*, maketh the *Phœacian actors dance* with [d] others of their owne ſexe, or [e] ſingle. Which how much, & why, it is more allowable, then men and women to dance together: I wiſh you to conſider, by weighing, with examples mentioned in [f] *Scripture*, the iudgement of [g] *Diuines* thereon. So ſhall you perceiue, that *Homer in the eight booke of his Odyſſea*, hath no ſufficient warrant for *Melantho to dance* together with *Eurymachus*, the *maides* with the *wooers*; no not though they were *maides* and *Melantho* indeed; much leſſe for boyes attired like *Melantho*, and *maides*, to *dance* with men vpon a ſtage. The latter of your authors you

t Præteritio.
u Odyſſ. 8.
a Ἀσὶ δ' ἀμῦν ἀνὴρ ἀριστος ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, Δημόδοκος τε θεοῖσιν ἰσόφατος ἀείδειν, Ἐξαίρετον ἔθηκε· μετὰ φρεσὶν ἐγρήσσοντι, Μοῦσα δὲ μιν φίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.
x Epiſt lib. 1. ep. 2. Alcinoique in cute curanda plus quo operata juventus.
y Dipnoloph. lib. 1. Ἀπολαυστικὸς δὲ καὶ περὶ ἀνδρὸς ὁ τῶν Φαιάκων βίος.
a In Odyſſ. 8. ἔστιν ἂν εἴποι συμφώνως τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμμελῶς ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ ὁ ὁμήρου φαίαξ βασιλεὺς λέγων.
b Phil 3 19.
c Ἁμὰ δ' Ἀρηϊ φίλῃ πλέε, δῖον ἀοιδὸν ἄνσαν· ἀοιδὸς μὲν πρῶτα μίγησεν.
d Εὖγε, πάλαιγε· καὶ χεὶρ βαίνων ἀστεῖα.
e Μανίαις ἐρρήθησαν.
f Exod. 15. 20. Iudg. 11. 21. 1. Sam. 18 6.
g Pet. Mart. in lib. Iud. cap. 21. Hyperius de ſcrijs Bacchanal. b. Aretius probl. theolog. tom. 1. loc. 14.

alleage

alleage directly; and, that *learned Knight Syr Thomas Eliot*, ſay you, *among other things that he writeth in a booke of his, in the praiſe of dancing, compareth the man treading the meaſures, to Fortitude, and the woman on his hand, to Temperance.* You adde, that *you haue ſeene the booke, and you remember hee vſeth this compariſon in it.* But did you not remember the name of the booke too? Or was it for ſome ſpeciall cauſe that you concealed it? your words might giue a man occaſion to thinke, that *he had written a booke in the praiſe of dancing*: which that he did, I [q] finde not. I gueſſe you meane therefore his booke entituled the *Gouernour*. Wherein [h] he *praiſeth dancing*, and vttereth ſomewhat like to that auouched by you, and [i] treateth of *circumſtances* (a point you touch alſo) *which being all obſerued, dancing may be honeſtly and honorably vſed*: But his ſpeech of *Fortitude* and *Temperance repreſented by men and maidens in a dance*, commeth nothing neere your *maides and wooers meaſures*, whereto you would ſtretch it. For, among *diuerſe manners and kinds of dancing vſed in ancient time*, he rehearſeth one, wherein (as [k] *Lucian* ſaith, tranſlated word for word by him in a manner) [l] *danced young men and maidens; the man going before & expreſſing* [m] *ſuch motions as hee might afterward vſe in warre; the maiden following him modeſtly and ſhamefaſtly; ſo that it repreſented a pleaſant coniunction of temperance & fortitude.* Now thoſe *warlike motions* were (as [n] *Plato* ſheweth, ſpeaking of the like dance) *geſtures which reſembled, partly the auoiding all ſorts of wounds and blowes by* [o] *bending aſide, by* [p] *going backe, by* [q] *leaping vp, by* [r] *bowing downe; partly the inforcing of enimies by ſhooting* [s] *arrowes, and caſting* [t] *dartes at them, and giuing them* [u] *all ſorts of woundes.* Wherefore this being it, that *repreſented fortitude in the dance* deſcribed by S[r] *Thomas Eliot*: farre was it from his meaning to make your *meaſures, your ſober meaſures, warlike* motions; or *compare a woman treading them, to Fortitude.* As farre, as to compare a boy doing the ſame in maidens likenes, to *Temperance.* Which, if you had otherwiſe expreſſed his ſenſe rightly, yet ſhould you haue forborne to apply to yours for the obſerving of *decorum*, a thing that you commend ſo in *Homer*, and your

q Baleus ſcriptorum Britan. centur. 8 c 77.
h Lib. 1. ca. 20.
i Cap. 22 23. 24 & 25.

k De ſaltat.
l ὁ ἅμα, ὀρχησιν καὶ κατὰ ἰσχναντα ἐ παρθένιον,
m ὁποῖ ὕστερον ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσῃ.
n De legib. l. 7
o Ἐκκλίσεις.
p Ὑποχῶρ.
q Ἐκπηδήσεις ἐν ὕψει.
r Ταπεινώσεις.
s Τόξων.
t Ἀκοντίων.
u Παντοδαπὰς πληγὰς

selfe aime at: sith those *maides* and *wooers*, intended both by *Homer* and you, to be wantons, must vse lascivious dances; and the man (if you will needs haue such resemblances) be compared rather to *Mollitude* or *Cowardnesse*, the woman to *Incontinencie*. Beside that, *the praise* which that *learned Knight* giveth vnto *dancing*, he giveth it not simply; (for he saith [x] *some dances doe corrupt the mindes of them that dance, and provoke* [y] *sinne*:) but with limitation, to wit, [y] *being vsed and continued in such forme, and with such observations and rules*, as hee specifieth. Whereof the first (to name one for example) is, that, *by the curtesie or reverent inclination made at beginning of dancing, the dancers and beholders should marke and remember this to be signified, that at the beginning of all our acts, wee should doe due honour to God, which is the root of prudence.* And indeed if *dancers in treading of their measures* had such regards and meditations: then not Syr *Thomas Eliot* onely, but the Fathers would praise dancing too. For, when godly Bishops assembled in the *Councells* of [z] *Laodicea*, and [a] *Ilarda*, decreed that *Christians ought not to dance at marriages*; when [b] St *Chrysostome* blamed *women* for so doing, as being a *staine vnto their sexe*; when [c] St *Ambrose* cited & averred that of [d] *Tully*, that *such as dance are drunke, or madde*; when [e] St *Austin* said that *it were better to spend the Sabbath day in digging and delving, then in dancing*: they ment not to restraine men from marking, and remembring, that at *the beginning of all their acts they should doe due honour to God*; but they thought that dancers haue commonly their mindes on thinges of another qualitie. Which if your *wooers* and *maidens* also had; as (I am perswaded) themselues will not deny, and you seeme to haue thought by touching so nicely, or rather scarcely touching, the *circumstances* that you say *should be obserued in dancing*: you abuse the name of that *learned Knight*, in vrging his praise of a good dance that might bee, against my dispraise of an ill dance that is. It had beene more reason, that when his conceit carried him a little out of the way sometimes, as in that [f] hee praiseth *Lucians* stage-dancer, who *danced the adultery of Mars & Venus* with *resembling of* [g] *every act therein* (which I hope

x Lib. 1. c. 19.

y Cap. 22. & 23

z Concil. Laodicen. can. 53

a Conc. Ilerd. can. vlt. Conc. tilior. tom. 2.

b In Matt. hom 59.

c De virginib. lib. 3.

d Orat. pro Muræn.

e In Psal. 32. part. 1.

f Lib 1. c. 2. 20.

g Καίτοι τῆ ἐτυμῇ πάντα σεσοφ. saith Lucian.

hope, your selfe would not allow on your stage;) you should haue acknowledged that through too great a loue of dancing, he liked too well of *Lucians* treatise: though otherwise he fancied not the author much; as [h] he well declareth by noting of [*] his *ribaldrie*, and his *too much scorning*; & by saying farther, *It were better that a child should never read any part of Lucian, then all Lucian.* Or, if the sentence of a Knight, so worthie, had such credit with you; why did you not consider [i] his religious wish, *that the names of idols, of Paynim Gods and Goddesses, were not vsed at this day in balads and ditties, to the corrupting of many good wits with godlesse phantasies*? For though his reproofe doe specially touch *the most vile idols, Venus, and Bacchus, remembred so in dancing songs, as if the dance were to their honour and memory; a matter most abhorring from Christs religion, and sauouring of the ancient errour of Paganisme*: yet as the [k] Scripture, the ground of this reproofe, doth generally condemne such naming of *other Gods*, semblably hee sheweth, that, if you had attributed so much to his iudgement, you should haue eschewed that fault in your tragedy. At least, wher the words are vttered as it were in your own person as [l] those of [m] *the Gods enlightned or beautified by Homers* fables are Perhaps, where plaiers of other mens persons also speake: as [n] *Vlysses*, and [o] *Eumaus*, adoring spirits of [p] Divells, or of dead [q] men, and [r] women, with sacrifices and prayers; [s] *Telemachus* [t] swearing by *Iuppiter*; [u] *Philatius*, first [x] blaspheming God vnder *Iuppiters* name, then [y] confessing to him that *there are Gods in heaven.* Chiefly seeing that these speeches are delivered by the flowre of those persons, by whose parts (you say) *no hurt could come to any man*: and Sr *Thomas Eliot* thought that such speeches *sauouring of Paganisme*, might *corrupt good wits.* But howsoever you shall distinguish your *Poem* from the *balads* and *ditties*, in which hee controleth this irreligious custome of giving *the honour of God to vile idols*: your selfe doe beare witnesse that he commēdeth not the dancing of *Eurymachus* & the rest of your *wooers* with their *Melantho's* on the stage. For among the parts of *their dissolute behaviour imagined to be done within*, you rehearse their [z] *dancing*: and that

[h] Lib. 1. c. 10.
[*] Hujus impios & scurriles cinaedos scholarum nostrarum censores volunt, si Deo placet, in puerorum scholis prælegi, &c Hyperius opusc. de sacrar. literar. stud. non defetend.
[i] Lib. 1. c. 19.
[k] Exod. 33. 13. Psal. 16. 4. Hos. 2. 17.
[l] Vlyss. red. prol. ad Acad.
[m] Illuminavit Deos.
[n] Act. 1. & 5.
[o] Act. 2.
[p] Nymphæ Naides.
[q] Iupiter.
[r] Minerva.
[s] Act. 2.
[t] Per Iovem.
[u] Act. 4.
[x] Iniq; semper Iuppiter: nec enim est Deus Te pejor alter.
[y] Magne regnator Deum Iam fateor esse, fateor in cœlo Deos.
[z] Regiis perdunt domum luxu, choreis, scelere, dapibusq; impijs.

that in the person, not of a carping *Momus*, but of *wise* Telemachus. Now looke what was *imagined to be done within*, the same was *expressed on the stage* in part, by your own confession: as *Telemachus* also saith, that in *their manners at home they kept their wont*. Their dancing on the stage then, your selfe acknowledge, was vnhoneſt dancing. And the dancing praised by Sr *Thomas Eliot is honeſt dancing, you say*. Therefore you doe manifeſt wrong vnto vs both, in alleaging him as *praising* that which I diſpraiſed.

p Act. 1.
q Quos jam relíqui more viventes ſuo Tumultuantes, atq; ſaltantes domi.
q Plutarch. apo. lith. reg. & imperat.

¶ When the *Lacedemonians* had accuſed the *Thebans* of many and grievous matters: *Indeed*, quoth *Epaminondas*, *these haue made you giue ouer your ſhort forme of ſpeaking*. I wiſh I might be ſhort, as were the *Lacedemonians*; but you conſtraine me to be long: you deale ſo *Theban-like* continually with me. A doubtfull word being vſed in a queſtion of yours, *whether we account it a loſſe recitare, to recite Seneca*; Wherevnto I anſwered that it is *one thing* to recite, *another thing* to play, as I declared by ſundry writers; and added that *I would haue beene content to heare your tragedie recited; had it been recited or pronounced only*; you reply that *the word is vſed in Quintilian; not onely* de ſcripto, *but alſo* memoriter recitare; *and therefore you might vſe it indifferently, for* agere, *in a generall acceptation*; moreover, that as *Horace and Perſius doe ſcoffe bitterly at recitatores alſo, and the law in the generality of the terme noteth alſo with infamie, them*, qui pronuntiandi, *that is properly*, recitandi cauſa in ſcenam prodeunt: *to the Univerſitie would haue thought it a more abſurd thing to haue heard you, or any other, openly reading your Vlyſſes to them, then to haue ſeene it acted as it was*. Wherein to the intent you may ſee how you play the *Theban*, I will vſe a comparison, and that within ſome meaſure I truſt. x *Plutarch* hath written a dialogue to proue that *brute beaſts haue reaſon as well as men haue*: in ieſt peradventure, ſeeing he maketh it to bee avouched by y *Gryllus*: or meaning, that they haue a naturall ſagacitie and vnderſtanding like to reaſon, not reaſon capable of Religion, as in the z concluſion he ſeemeth to inſinuate, and a a certaine Chriſtian writer hath maintained, though ſpeaking not ſo fitlie in ſaying *they haue reaſon*.

ταῦτα ἐνταῦθα βραχυλογωτέρως ἐποιοῦμεν.
ſ Senecámne tu recitare jacturam[ne] putes?
t Recitare.
u Agere.
Περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου χαρακτήρων.

x Ἐρίφιον a pig, or hogge.
y ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Γρύλλος, ἢ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, παραπλησίως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λόγου καὶ φρονήσεως μετέχειν.
z Valeſius de ſacra Philoſophia. cap. 45. & 55.

reason, sith the [t] Scripture termeth them [u] *Creatures void of reason*. But suppose that some man being of *Gryllus* mind, (or let vs call him *Gryllus* for more perspicuitie, and make *Sempronius* likewise his aduersaries name;) suppose then that *Gryllus* hauing asked this question, [x] *Doe you thinke that* animal, *a liuing creature indued with sense, wanteth reason? Sempronius* answered him, that *animal* is one thing, and *a beast* an other, as [y] *Tullie* declareth, affirming a [z] *man* (whom he calleth *Animal*) *to be full of reason*, whereof he saith, that [a] *no beast all is partaker*. If *Gryllus* should reply that *the word is vsed in* [b] *Ouid for* [c] *all things that haue life and sense, not for men only; & therfore he might vse it indifferently for beasts in a generall acceptiõ*: would not they, who see, that belike he meant to comprehend men also vnder that generall word, thereby the more closely to fetch in *beasts* with them; and that, restraining it to beasts, his question must bee, *Thinke you that beasts want reason?* which Were an idle question, & openly implying a begging of the point in controuersie; would they not, I say, condemne him as a wrangling and contentious *Sophister*? Now, if in the same vaine, or rather in a worse, he should adde moreouer, that as [d] *Horace* and [e] *Persius* speake *scoffingly of mad men too, and the* [f] *law appointed gardians for idiots, that is properly, for men wanting the vse of reason; so the graue Athenian bench of Areopagus would iudge it more absurd to say that men haue reason, then that beasts haue it, chiefly certaine beasts, as* [g] *horses and oxen dancing vpon stages in a more exquisit maner then men are lightlie able*: would not this speech of *Gryllus* shew that he deserueth a sharper commendation, then *Plutarch* by praising [h] *his sophistrie* meant vnto him? Here your vsuall dealing causeth mee to feare that you will aske *whether I make you a Gryllus*. As [i] when a Catholike Bishop, being rebuked by an *Arian Emperour for standing alone with Athanasius against the whole world*, said that *the doctrine of faith was not impeached though he alone maintained it; seeing that of old time* [k] *three*

t 2 Pet. 2. 12.
u ἀλόγα ζῶα.
x Animal ne tu rationis expers esse putas?
y De legi. lib. 1.
z Animal hoc providum, sagax, multiplex, acutum, memor, plenum rationis & consilij, quem vocamus hominẽ.
a Solum est enim ex tot animãtium generibus atq; naturis participes orationis, & cogitationis, cum cætera sunt omnia expertia.
b Metamor. l. 1
c Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram, os homini sublime dedit,
y Epist. lib. 1. epi 1.
d Satyr. 3.
e L. 2. de postulando.
f 2 D. de curatorib. furiosor. g Ἵππων γ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς χορεύοντας, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους πάνυ μουσικῶς ἐμβαίνοντας, saith Grillus in Plutarch. h σοφιστείαν. i Theodoret hist Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 16.
k Dan. 3. 12.

alone were found who ſtood againſt the Kings commandement: What? quoth an *Eunuch*, *I dare ſt thou make our Emperour a Nabuchodonoſor?* But, I pray you leaue this *Eunuches* odious practiſe in wracking my cõpariſons and marke the maine point whereat I aime in them, and which I ſeeke to open by them. For, as in *Gryllus* queſtion, and *verſe*, framed like yours, the circumſtances giue, that he vſed the generall word compriſing man, thereby to breede a fancy that *if this kind of animal haue reaſon, why not the other?* In like ſort your expreſſe mention of [m] *reading*, I ſay, of *reading*, not of *playing*, in ſhewing what a iewell you take *the reciting of Seneca* to be; maketh it probable that you meant to doe by the generalitie of the word *recitare*. The more, becauſe you vſed it not only *in your verſe*, where your excuſe might ſerue, that it *ſtood better then* agere *would in that place*; as *Gryllus* might ſay likewiſe for verſifying *animal* rather, then *beſtiam*: but in your *proſe* alſo, *the* [n] *title of your tragedie*; as if *Gryllus*, ſetting downe the point controverſed betweene him and *Sempronius*, ſhould make it, *vtrum animal ſit rationis expers*; where the word [o] *beſtia*, would ſerue as fitlie in proſe; nay, (if plaine dealing were meant) a great deale more fitly. And if you intend not to make that reaſon which I ſuppoſed you did, *it is no loſſe to recite Seneca, Ergo no loſſe to play him*: but meant to vſe the generall word for the ſpeciall, and to aske *Momus* onely, *Thinke you it a loſſe to play Seneca?* then you begged at *Momus* hand, or tooke as graunted, the point you ſhould haue proved; ſith the playing of *Seneca* was condemned by him, and you vndertooke to confute his arguments. Againe, *as Horace, Perſius, the law, alleaged by Gryllus*, doe ſhew that *certaine men want the vſe of reaſon*, but neither proue that *beaſts* haue it, nor that mankind wanteth it; and this preſumed teſtimony of the *Areopagus*, brought in with a particle of ſimilitude, *So*, as hitting iumpe with *Horace*, *Perſius*, and *the law*, is too too abſurd: in like ſort the ſame authors, alleaged by your ſelfe, doe ſhew that ſome reciters are miſliked by them, but neither proue that plaiers are liked, nor all *reciters* miſliked; and the *Vniverſities* teſtimony which you bring in with the ſame particle, as hitting

[m] Cuius vel vnum ſimile carminibus meum Benigna carmen malo poſteritas legat, you ſay, non agat; though agat would haue fitted the verſe as well as legat.

[n] Tragœdia noua, in æde Chriſti recitata.

[o] In the larger ſenſe, that Tullie giueth it: Tuſc. quæ lib. 5 De nat. Deor. lib. 2. not in the ſtricter of your Lawyers: lib. 1. parag remoued. D de poſtulando. lib. 1. parag. in beſtias. D. ſi quadrup. pauper. fecit. di.

ting iumpe with thoſe authors, I can not ſay you bring it altogether as *Gryllus*, but you bring it ſtrangely. For [p] *Horace* ſcoffeth at them, who [q] *recite their writings out of due place or time and are* [r] *importunatly diſpleaſant*: [ſ] *Perſius at* [t] *wantons reciting* [u] *wanton verſes, with an* [x] *effeminate voice, &* [y] *vainglorious minde. The law* noteth with *infamie ſuch as come vpon the ſtage to recite*: belike, for their vaine-glorious deſire of [z] being ſeene, and [a] getting mens *applauſe*, which *Perſius* ieſteth at. Now in that you adde hereto *the Univerſity*, and make vs ioyne with the former in opinion, ſaying; *So the Univerſity would haue thought it a more abſurd thing to haue heard me.* or *any other, openly reading my Vlyſſes vnto them, then to haue ſeene it acted as it was*: what meane you by this terme, *So*? that if *you* or an *other, had read your Vlyſſes openly vnto them, it had beene done out of due place, or due time*? or, they ſhould haue heard *wanton verſes read*? or *wantonly*? or by a *wanton*? or with a *vaine-glorious minde*? or *on the ſtage*? Indeede, they ſhould haue heard [b] ſome *wanton verſes*, I graunt: and both out of *due place, and time*, if you had *read* it, [c] *where*, & [d] *when* it was *acted*. Neither doe I doubt but *the Vniverſity* would haue thought *ſuch open reading*, of ſuch ſtuffe on ſuch a day, *abſurd*: though, whether *more abſurd then to haue ſeen it acted as it was*, I know not. But whatſoeuer they would haue thought in this compariſon, wherein *the* [e] *law*, that you cite, noting both with *infamy*, ſhould giue (mee thinkes) a deeper print thereof to *acting* then *reading*, all things weighed: you are farre from hitting the marke whereat you ſhoote; namely, from cõvincing by the *Univerſities* teſtimony, and iudgment, my ſentence is abſurd, that *if your tragedie had beene recited only, I would haue accounted it no more loſſe of time to haue heard you pronounce it, then my ſelfe to read it*. For, I did not meane, *if it had been recited* as thoſe were, which the authors by you alleadged, doe reproove: but as [e] *Horace* vſed to [f] *recite his own*

p Satyr. lib 1. ſat 4. & de art. poet.
q In medio qui Scripta foro recitent ſunt multi, quique lauantes.
r Indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus.
ſ Satyr. 1.
t Patranti fractus ocello.
u Quum carmina lumbum Intrant, & tremulo ſcalpuntur vbi intima verſu.
x Liquida qua plaſmate gutter Mobile colluerit. Quintilian li. 1. cap. 4.
y Quo dedicile, niſi hoc fermentum & qua ſemel intus innata eſt, rupto iecore exierit captificus? & vſque adeò

ne Scire tuum nihil eſt, niſi te ſcire hoc ſciat alter; z Populo, pexuſque; togaque recenti, & natalitia tandem cum ſardonyche albus, Sede legens celſa. a At pulchrum eſt digito monſtrari, & dicier, hic eſt. b In melanthos part, & Eurymachus. c Qui pronuntiandi cauſa in ſcenam prodierit. d Die Dominico e L. 1. D. de his qui not. infam.

writings,

writings; as g poems were recited to *Quintilius Varus*; as h *Persius* did recite his booke vnto *Cornutus*, before he published it. Whereof if you pronounce (as you doe, if you speake to purpose) that *our Vniversity would haue thought it a more absurd thing, then to haue seene it acted as it was*; you deale in like maner with our Vniversitie, as *Gryllus* with the reverend bench of *Areopagus*, if he should abuse their name and estimation, to perswade that *brute beasts haue more reason then the wisest men haue.*

g Lib. 1. Sat. 4.

h Non recito cuiquam, nisi amicis, idque coactus non vbivis coram, quibuslibet. i Quintilio si quid recitares corrige sodes hoc aiebat, & hoc, Hora. de art. poet. k Persij vita. Gloss. vet. in Persium.

Hereto would be annexed that, which in the fourth and last head of reasons, you vrge againe concerning out *Universities* iudgment for the approbation of your plaies in generall: if your interlaced defence of wastfull cost in setting forth therof (the only point remaining besides) were discussed. And this is easily done, considering what hath beene already proved against you touching the *inconveniences and mischiefes of your plaies*. For having made *Momus obiect the great charges*; which how great they were, you know better then I, who summed them perhaps too much beneath the due whē I did mention *thirty pound*; but hauing made him say that it *should haue beene bestowed on the poore rather*, you take him vp with three answers: one, that *the mony was your owne, not his*; another, that *the charge, though great to him, was meane to you*, the third, that *none would giue the lesse to the poore for that, none would haue giuen the more without it*. All the which I shewed to be of no force for warranting of expenses on things of that quality, because, both *vnhoneſt spending of a mans owne, is wastfulnes & riot, condemned by our Saviour in the prodigall sonne*: and, as *Nero giving much to get a Plaudite, was the lesse able to helpe the poore by so much, and the lesse willing too perhaps*; in like sort may you bee. Herevpon you demand of mee, *What similitude is there*. or can *there bee, betweene the prodigall sonne that in such a sort, as he did, spent all, and brought himselfe to the extreameſt misery, and betweene your expense*? A question which you would not haue pressed, as you doe; for your vnlikenes to him in that he *wasted all, and brought himselfe to extreame misery thereby*: if you had considered that h word in the originall

h Ἀσώτως.

nall text of the Gospell, whereto my quotation for [i] riot did direct you. For vsually it noteth the qualitie of expenses made by loose & wanton persons on their pleasures, as in fore in writers, [k] *Aristotle* and [l] *Tullie*; so in [m] *Scripture* likewise: and, to that effect in the same parable of the *prodigall sonne* is it said [n] afterward, that *he devoured his goods* [o] *with harlots*. Now, in *Rome*, of old time, there were *common* [p] *harlots to be hired for* [q] *two pens halfe-peny*. The prise in our daies by reason of the [r] tribute, *which they were to pay the Pope*, may be enhaunsed. But if one, desirous of an harlots company, could haue her so cheap, and should plead for himselfe that *the mony hee spendeth on her is his own, & the charge not great neither would he giue lesse vnto the poore for that, nor more without it*: were this a lawfull barre to stay vs from accusing him of [s] *riot*, I meane, of wastfull and vnhoneſt spending; (giue it a fitter *English name*, if you know any; I tooke that which our best interpreters agree on;) but might wee not accuse him thereof vpon the same ground that scripture doth *the prodigall sonne*? Or, if some Preacher, more severe then [t] *Cato*, should deale so strictly and rigorously with him; might he aske *what similitude there is, or can be, betweene his expence of two pence haf-peny, and the prodigall sonne, who in such a sort as he did, spent all, and brought himself to the extreamest misery*? Much fault haue you found with my *hard incomparable comparisons and similitudes*; & some of them are [u] *hard* in deede, though none *incõparable*: but I must say thereof, as the *Apostle* of his *boasting*, [x] *you haue compelled me*. For when I tooke a softer and more gentle course, as here, to encounter that answere made to *Momus*, *Thou saist the charge is great; but thou maist come, and looke on, Momus, and pay nothing, no man doth aske thee a peny*; I resembled it to an answere which the *prodigall sonne* might thus haue made to his reprover, *Thou blamest mee for wasting, but I wast none of thine; thou maist drinke with mee scotfree, if thou be a good fellow, & welcome*: albeit the very word wasting, might haue shewed I meant vnhoneſt spending, (for [x] things

[i] Luk. 15. 13.
[k] Ethicor. lib. 4. cap. 1. τὸν ἀσωτὸν οὐ τὸν ἀκόλαστον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀναλώτην, ὅσον τοῦ ἀκολάστου.
[l] De finib. lib. 2.
[m] Eph. 5. 18. Tit. 1. 6.
[n] Luk. 15. 30. ὁμοπαθοῦντα.
[o] Diobolares meretrices. Fest scorta diobolaria. Plaut. pœn.
[p] Two oboli, being the third part of drachma, or denarius; and eight drachma, or denarij, weighing an ounce of siluer.
[r] Io. Athon. gloss. in consist. Othon. de concubin. clericor. removend. Fr. Sansovin. de administr. regnor. & rerum pub. lib. 11. cap. de meretrichillo. Auricolas?

[s] Vorint Horat. Satyr. lib. 1. sat. 2. Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero Persius 1. [x] 2 Cor. 12. 11. [y] Luk. 16. 9. 1 Tim. 6. 18. Tit. 3. 14. Rev. 14. 13.

ſpent honeſtly are not waſted,) chiefly ſith I vſed it in reſpect of the *riot* noted by our Saviour; and in the vnthrifts ſpeech, drawing *good fellowes to drinke with him*, I pointed to his luſty, exceſſiue, diſſolute drinkings with lewd companions like himſelfe; yet you did reply, that, *if he had beene as moderate and thrifty in ſpending at his boarde, as you were at your plaies, he might well enough haue ſaid to any niggard, that ſhould haue vnwiſely found fault with him, as much as I make him ſay, not with the note of a prodigall, but with the commendation of an ingenuous and liberall diſpoſition.* Whereby you make me ſee, to what reproachfull contumelies of a *niggardly mind*, and want of *wiſdome* and diſcretion, I ſhould haue laid my ſelfe open, if I had ſtill endeuoured to diſcloſe vnto you the weaknes of your anſwers by gentle ſimilituds. That ſimilitude therefore of mine, the tender ſmoothnes wherof occaſioned you to miſtake my meaning, and entertaine it ſo courſly, I haue now corrected with ſubſtituting a rougher, which may deliuer you from error, and mee from ſuch tants. For ſeeing you perceiue this to be my meaning, that the threefold anſwer made by you to *Momus* is like as if [2] *Gallonius*, or ſome other *Epicure*, reproued by a *Stoicke* for going to the ſtewes, ſhould anſwer him, *Thou blameſt mee for ſpending two pence-halfepeny on a wench, but I ſpend none of thine; thou maiſt goe with me thither, if thou be a good fellow, & I will giue her as much for thee too; the charge though it ſeeme great to thee, is ſmall to me; neither will I beſtow a dodkin leſſe vpon the poore for that, nor more without it:* you will not reply, that *if Gallonius had beene as moderate & thrifty in his ſpending at his bedde, as you were at your plaies,* (they coſt a number of you more, you wote, in ſeuerall, then twiſe two pence halfe-peny;) *he might well enough haue ſaid to any niggard, that ſhould haue vnwiſely found fault with him, as much as I make him ſay, not with the note of a prodigall, but with the commendation of an ingennous and liberall diſpoſition.* And ſo, by the other ſimilitude likewiſe mended, and as it were rough hewen, you may the better learne to diſcerne my drift, and ſpare your owne replying. For when, to diſcouer the poverty of your anſwere touching the poore, I ſaid, that *Nero peradventure*

1 1. Pet. 4 3.

2 Cic. de finib. lib. 2.

venture was either lesse able or lesse willing to helpe the poore, by reason of fiue or sixe thousand pound giuen for a Plaudite; which charge notwithstanding he might better beare, then some of your students may fiue or sixe shillings: you reply, that *if Nero could haue as well spared such huge summes of mony, which hee spent that way often, as your house with the company in it, and belonging to it, can once in many yeares thirty pounds: Nero should haue beene wronged greatly, being an Emperour, to haue been noted of wastfulnesse;* and, *if ever he had any such good minde, hee might nevertheless haue relieued the poore.* Now, altering and changing *Neros* charge on *Plaudite* into [u] his charge on *Actte* (a harlot whom he loued better then his wife) and telling you that *he was lesse able, or lesse willing* (nay both) *to helpe the poore, by reason of* [x] *gifts bestowed on her:* I shall not heare, I trust, that *if Nero could haue as well spared the sundry summes of mony which he spent that way often, as your house with the company in it, and belonging to it, can once in many yeares thirty pounds: Nero should haue beene wronged greatly, being an Emperour, to haue beene noted of wastfulnesse.* No, not, though in adding that clause, *being an Emperor,* you seeme to allude to [y] *Aristotles* saying, that [z] *Princes are not termed wastfull, or prodigall.* For therein he respecteth [a] *the abundance of their wealth, which Nero could hardly exceede in gifts and expenses:* not the [b] quality of the matters that they spend their wealth on: wherin as *prodigall persons* may and doe *waste,* so *Nero.* Neither will you affirme that *Nero might nevertheless haue releeued the poore;* for feare least you cause your reader to suspect you of shamelesnesse or sophistry. Shamelesnesse, if you say, that, whatsoever it were which *Nero* gaue to *Actte,* he had no whit the lesse in his cofters to giue others. Sophistry, if by the word *nevertheless,* you meane *notwithstanding.* For *Phœdria* in the [c] *Comedie,* might haue helped *Parmeny,* notwithstanding the mony that he spent on *Thais.* Yet [d] the greater charge he was at with his harlot, the lesse had he remaining to giue his poore seruant. And your doubts *if Nero had ever any such good minde,* will be as badly opposed vnto my speech of his *lesse willingnesse,* For both himselfe, [e] hauing so good a minde

[u] Corn. Tacit. annal. lib. 13.

[x] Quæ principes furtim mulierculæ tribuebat.

[y] Ethicor. lib. 4. Τὰς τυράννους οὐ λέγομεν ἀσώτους. ἀπὸ γὰρ πλήθους τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔοικεν εἶναί τισι δόσεις ἢ ταῖς δαπάναις ὁ πρόσκαιρος. [b] Ἀνάλωτος τῶν ἀσώτων ἀεὶ οὗ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἕνεκα ἡ γὰρ ἀνελευθερία, ἐν τῷ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι δαπανᾶν.

[c] Terent. Fun.

[d] Nam quod nos capere oportet hæc intercipit.

[e] Sueton. Ner. cap. 10.

a Cap.32 & 38
b cap.30 & 31.
c Ἐστὶ δυνατὸν ἁπλῶς. possible simply. in the words alleadged.

minde once, became [a] worse minded afterward, when he was growne [b] wastfull other waies, yea, simply wastfull, proving that to be possible which *Aristotle* iudgeth [c] not easy to be done: & if he had alwaies beene equally ill-minded, yet commeth it otherwise to passe in mans nature, as you might haue learned by *Cæsar* and *Plutarch*. Of whom the one beholding certaine rich strangers & forrainers; at *Rome*, carying whelps of dogges and apes in their bosomes, and making much of them, did aske, *Whether women brought not forth children in their countries*: [d] the other saith that *Cæsar* herein *gaue a worthy and princely admonition to them* [e] *who doe consume and waste vpon beasts, the naturall affection and loue due to men.* Both, evidently shewing, that the more we spend on things of lesse value, the lesse we are disposed to spend on things more pretious; sith, [f] as a mans loue is, so is his willingnes to spend for loue sake: and the *loue of apes and doggs* may better stand with *the loue of children*, [g] each of them being to bee loued, though not alike; then expenses on plaies may with releeuing of the poore, [h] the *Lord* accounting *mercy had vpō the poore*, as had vpon himself, & spēt mony on plaies, being as mony spent on harlots. Wherfore, if you wil be surable to your self, & as you deale for plaies, so for the loue apes and doggs; for which you may more reasonably; your threefold answer against *Momus* in your own defence, is quickly turned against *Cæsar* & *Plutarch*, for those strangers: *The loue, which they did beare to the whelps of doggs and apes, was their owne loue, it was not Cæsars, or Plutarchs; great might it be to Cæsar and Plutarch, meane to them; neither would they loue children the lesse for that, nor more without it.* And as you assault *Momus* with the Scripture, telling him that *Iudas* his speech, *who said what need this waste? is an euill speech*; and now notwithstanding the difference betweene your plaies and *Christ*; vs and *Iudas*, doe *thinke*, that it *may also be applied against either the niggardise, or the hypocrisie of any Momus, that shall condemne all expenses, as cast away, that is sometime moderately bestowed vpon honest sports and pastimes, and not vpon the poore*: so, what letteth you to thinke that it *may also be applied against either the clownishnes, or the*

d Plutarch. vita Pericli.
e Καπηλεῖον τι.

f 1 Ioh 3.17.

g Mar.7.27.

h Prov.19. 17. Mat.25.40.

hypocrisie

hypocriſie of Caſar and Plutarch, who condemned all loue, as caſt away, that is ſometime moderatly beſtowed vpon ſweet whelpes of dogge and apes, and not vpon children? For, if you ſhould anſwere, the caſe is vnlike becauſe you cannot proue that mens colling and danling of ſuch whelpes is ſeemely, which *Caſar* and *Plutarch* ſawe good cauſe to reproue: you muſt bee remembred that yet you may ſay, the thing is ſeemely, though ſay it only, and denie their reproofe to bee iuſt, though not refute it; as you avouch againſt mee that *your playes were honeſt and lawfull recreations, whatſoever is rather obiected then proved to the contrary.* Nay, if *Caſar*, or *Plutarch*, had, beſide their reaſons to proue it vnſeemely; alleaged ſundry teſtimonies of *Romans* and *Grecians* ſo eſteeming it, as I did the iudgments of a *Lacedemonian*, of *Horace*, of *Tullie* of other *learned men*, to ſhew that they deemed ſuch coſt, as you were at, to bee vaine and waſtfull: yet, as you replie to me that *all Paynim & heathen iudgement you haue anſwered in the defence of your firſt reaſon*; ſo might you to them, that all the teſtimonies which they bring, you haue anſwered in the * *prologue* of your laſt play. I haue read [g] that whē the *Spaniards invincible navy* met with ours, about ſome fiue yeares ſince, vpon the narrow ſeas, it was publiſhed in print, at *Paris*, by *Mendoza* the *Spaniards* procurement, that *they got a braue victory, wherein my Lord Admirall of England, with ſixteene of the Queenes great ſhippes were ſunke to the bottome of the ſea, & the reſt put to flight with the Vice-admirall Francis Drake.* But, God bee thanked, wee ſaw my Lord Admirall of *England* aliue at her Maieſties late being here with vs: and now may the *Mendozians* picke out of their owne [h] *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, that neither any one ſhippe of the *Queenes navie*, were it great or ſmall, was ſunke by the *Spaniards*, nor the *Vice-admirall* put to flight.

And thus at length approching vnto the concluſion, I come to your maintenance of that which you obiected concerning the iudgement of our *Vniverſitie*. Wherewith (leaſt I paſſe any thing of weight in your reply, as you doe many in mine) I will ioyne that elſewhere you touch about the *worſhipfull, & ſometimes honorable preſence at your plaies; and thoſe reverend, fa-*

* Colpam protſus Hippolyto imputet, Inveni protervo, exlibi, duro, truci.

g The copie of a French letter to Don Bernardin Mendoze.

h Lib. 1. ad an. Chriſt. 1588.

mous, and excellent men, for life, and learning, and their places in the Church of God, who haue beene not onely writers of such things themselues, but also actors, and doe thinke well of them (as you affirme) *to this day*. Our *Vniversities iudgement* therefore you avow that *you produced right fully to the approving of your playes, because the greater part of the Vniversitie did with their harty applause approue them*. An argument, that neither laieth sound foundation, nor buildeth thereupon to purpose. For how proue you first, that *the greater part did with their hearty applause approue them*; seeing you acknowledge that *many, some absent, some present, disallowed them*? Forsooth, you say, *you are sure of it*. But your bold avouching things, you are not sure of, doth make me doubt of your assurance. For, vpon my speech that *certaine who came thither were pressed thereunto by great importunitie*, you wish *they had more truely, and more charitably, for dancing, kissing, and other demeanour, reported to me of your playes, with such a minde as you will forbeare* (you say) *to speake of*. Wherein you doe charge them, how *charitably*, iudge your selfe; but questionlesse, most *untruely*, with making false *reports of your playes* to me, to whom they made no *report* at all thereof. Yea, you take vpon you to pronounce of their thoughts: and say, *they did it with such a minde*, as in your [1] figuratiue *forbearing to speake of*, you speake most bitterly of, and raise a very wrongfull and vile suspicion of them. Againe, where I told you how *the graue and learned man, our common friend, shewed me his dislike of the representation of amorous lasse, and drunkennesse; in the Comedie, both; the former, not in it only*: you say, that *you knowe how farre hee did somewhat dislike some Comicall action; but you are sure he commended much the playes to you, & would bee sorry that any speech of his should bee, by mistaking, alleaged against you*. And doe you not in *assuring* vs after this sort that *hee did like of your playes*, saluing a little in the *Comedie*, imply that *hee disliked* nought in any tragedie? Or breed you not a slanderous surmise of his integritie, as if he had commended to you the very same, which vnto me he discommended? Or seeke you not to make men thinke that I mistooke him, in fathering that vpon him;

[1] Quintilian. lib. 9. cap. 2.

him; when himselfe hath sithence acknowledged vnto mee, that I mistooke him not; and (as I am perswaded) hath certified you no lesse too?

Wherefore your pronouncing, that *you are sure the greater part did with their hearty applause approue your plaies*, may rather proue you to bee rash, then your assertion to bee true. Chieslie, sith you mention, not onely their *applause*, a thing that sense might iudge of; but *their hearty applause*, a circumstance presumed by your conceit peradventure. For as they did [k] *clappe their hands* after your plaies, so [l] after the *appendix* thereof touching *Momus*. Which yet some approvers of your plaies approved not: as themselues haue signified. How can you then be sure, that all, who did *clappe their hands*, did it with liking; and that the *applause*, which they gaue, was *heartie*? Beside that, if *their hearts* ioyned with their hands, how can you bee sure they *approved your playes* by such *applause*, and not somewhat else? As [m] *Tully* declareth that the *Romans* vsed it to shew their loue of gracious persons: and in [n] one of your plaies [o] you wished it to be giuen to her gratious Maiestie. Neither is it impossible, but that, as a [p] number gaue it to the [q] apparell & furniture of the stage at Rome: so lighter bodies might with you. And what if the graver sort did shew the liking of your paines and charges employed for their delight sake? or of the better parts; not of wantons, of drunkards, and of the whole playes? Now, suppose *the greater part of the Vniversity approued them with their hearty applause*: might you therefore lawfully vrge *the Vniversities iudgement* as making for them? Yea, say you, *if the greater part may denominate the whole*: nay by your leaue, euen so too will you come short still vnlesse you adde, that iudgement and *hearty applause* is all one: which [r] hee, who affirmed that [s] *the people of Rome was lead with affection sometimes, not with iudgment*, did put a difference betweene. And though the *greater part denominate the whole*, cōmonly; & alwaies may, if the word, *greater*, be well expounded: yet there fall out cases when the lesser part in number shall denominate it, *and the greater* shall not. For example sake, [t] there were in the primitiue Church certaine *Christians* (as in

ours

k Nisi displicuimus, vos gregi applausum dare.

l Iterum benignus vndiq; applausus sonet.

m Orat. pro P. Sextio.

n Vlyss. red. epilogo.

o Huic vos Elisæ quem decet plausum dare.

p Horat. epist. lib. 2. ep. 1.

q Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

r Cicero orat. pro Plancio.

s In comitijs, præsertim ædilitijs, studium esse populi, non iudicium.

t Synod. Ancyr. can. 24. Basil. ep. ad. Amphil. can. 83. Gregor. Nysse epist. ad Lat. can. 3.

ours there are) who, having lost somewhat, would goe to a wisard, or a setter of figures, or other such soothsayer, to knowe how it went from them, or by what meanes they might recover it. [p] One of the generall *Councells* spake against this: and called it [r] *a pernitious and an heathenish custome.* The number of Bishops assembled in that Councell was lesser of all likelyhood (amounting [s] not to twelue score) then the numher of *Christians*, who either vsed that practise themselues, or liked it in others. Yet, in my opinion, the *Churches* iudgement did controll it: and to say the contrary, because, *the greater part denominateth the whole*, were most iniurious to the Church. Or, if this example satisfie you not, [t] the same *Councell* made a decree, that [u] *no man should put on womens rayment.* Whereto, being pressed by me, when you reply that *the voice of the Church therein may be interpreted by them who are of your minde*; you acknowledge, that, taking it in the right sense, it is the *Churches iudgement.* And the sense thereof by [x] your interpretation of *putting* on, or *wearing*, must be that *none may doe it commonly.* So, the Councell speaking of *doing* it in *playes*, you grant that *the Churches iudgement* is against it as common players vse to practise it. But greater assemblies of Christians then that Councell, allow it in common plaiers: the *Curtaine* and *Theater* can tell so much. Neither will you say, that common players are approved by the *Churches* iudgement. For, *the Churches* iudgement you professe obedience too: yet [y] *commō players* you condemne. The lesser part therefore in number may sometime *denominate the whole*; and *the greater may not.* Which if we apply to the case in question, it is plaine you should not haue vrged the *Vniversities* iudgement for your plaies, although the greater part thereof had approved them. For, the chiefest cause that moued the governours of our *Vniversitie*, the *Vicechancellour* and *Convocation*, to forbidde by *statute* the vse of common plaies among vs, was [z] *least the younger sort should be spectators of so many lewd and evill sports as in them are practised.* Now, reason doth giue, that men of

q Sext. synod. in Trul. can. 61.

r τὰ ὀλίθρια ταῦτα καὶ ἐκλήνικα ἐπιτηδεύματα. saith the Councell touching this and the like customes.

s Theodor. Balsam. de ea synodo quæ dicitur sexta.

t Can. 62.

u μηδένα ἄνδρα γυναικείαν στολὴν ἐνδυσκεῖσθαι.

x Of the Text of Scripture, Deut. 22. 5. where the Greeke translation hath, οὐκ ἐνδύσεται ἀνὴρ στολὴν γυναικείαν· the very words vsed by the Councell.

y Histrioniam accusas? Non defendo sed famam, pudorem, atq; innocentiam. Histrioniam verò ipsam, vel tecum accusabo, si voles. yeare 1584.

z The Vniversitie statute against common stage players: made in the

vnderstanding

vnderstanding, who, through a godly care of the good training vp of youth, restrained them from seeing those playes, because of such sports; must thinke it inconvenient for them to see such sports in whatsoever playes, even in your *Rivales*. And if inconvenient to see such sports onely, much more to play and represent such: the representing of them being so farre worse, then the beholding, in [p] *Platoes* iudgement, *that* [q] *they would be seene and knowne*, hee saith, *because their contraries, honest things and serious, cannot be knowne without them, if one intende to bee wise; but* [r] *practise both them, and their contraries, it is impossible, if one intende to haue as much as a sparke of vertue.* Our governours might thinke more hopefully, then *Plato*, that vertuous youths may doe them both: and *Plato* peradventure meant by impossible, *very hard*, as [s] *Tullie* elsewhere doth interpret him. But the dutifull reverence, which I owe vnto them, will not permit me to iudge of them, that where *Plato* suffered his citizens to see sports of folly and scurrilitie, yet *none* [u] *beside bondslaues and mercenarie strangers to imitate and expresse them*: the guides of our *Vniversitie* should deeme it convenient for youths to bee *actors* of loose and wanton prankes, whereof to bee *spectatours*, they haue pronounced it vnmeet and hurtfull for them. Wherefore, whatsoever *the greater part approued with their hearty applause*, I am perswaded still that you did wrong in vrging the *Vniversities iudgement* as making for your playes. No lesse in a manner, then if one beholding a great number of Schollers playing in winter time at football, should say, the *Vniversities iudgement doth approue it.* Which I contrariwise should be so farre from thinking, that if any graver man were looking on them, or touched the ball with his foot, I would take it rather to favour of affection borne to some playing thereat, then of *iudgement.*

As for *the worshipfull, and sometimes honourable presence at your playes*, you might seeme to presse it against me with more credit, if *honourable & worshipfull* persons never vsed to grace any playes, saue onely yours, with their *presence.* But if they be *present* at common playes also, such as our *Vniversitie-statute* banisheth

p De legib. lib. 7.

q τὰ κακὰ μανθανόμενα ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι καὶ γνωρίζειν.

r Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἐν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, ἕστω ἀν μέλλοντι ἐμπορίᾳ ἀρετῆς μεθέξειν.

s De viuen. fin.

t Plat. timeo; ἀδύνατον cic. Difficillimum factu.

u Δοῦλοις τε καὶ ξένοις μισθίοις ὁρισταῖς μιμεῖσθαι δεῖ. σπουδῆς δὲ μηδὲν ἀξίας εἶναι μιμήσεως μηδ' ὑπάρχειν, μηδὲ τῶν μανθανόντων ἀνδρὶ ἐλευθέρῳ φαύλῳ τοῦ μιμήσεως.

h Histrionicam ipsam vel tecum accusabo, si voles.

nisheth hence, and your selfe make offer that h *you will ioyne with me in writing against the players thereof, if I will:* consider with your selfe what you would answere to this argument alleaged by those plaiers, and let the same serue on my behalfe to yours. For a supply whereof I adde, that worthy personages who vpon intreaty, become your spectators, perhaps thinke with *Plato*, that the seeing of *Comedies* played can doe no harme, of *Tragedies* may be dangerous; perhaps incline to *Aristotle*, that they both may safely be seene by elder folke, not by younger: and so, though themselues behold one, or both, yet doe they warrant neither of the points you striue for; I meane, that either *students* of *Christ-church* may be *Actors*, or the youth of *Oxford spectators* of your plaies. i There were at *Vienna*, in the time of *Traian* the *Emperour*, by some bodies last will and testament, certaine solemne games and shewes set forth yearely: k *the which*, as *Pliny* saith, *had stained the manners of the inhabitants of that citty, in like sort as the games & shews set forth at Rome had stained the manners of all the world.* This corruption of *manners* was not bred by other exercises and masteries tried, in those games, but by the *stage-playes*, as a l learned man of your profession iudgeth: and m *Plinies* owne speech, concerning sundry kindes of games among the *Romans*, maketh it most probable, that hee meant, the *corruption* grew from *stage-playes* chiefly, if not from them alone.

i Plin. ep. l. 4. ep. 22. ad Sempron: Rufum.

k Placuit agôna tolli, qui mores Viennensium infecerat, vt noster hic omniũ

l Petr. Faber, agonist. lib. 1. cap. 26.

m Panegyrico Trajan.

But when the *Viennians* plaies were taken away by *Trebonius Rufinus*, a governour of theirs, and hee was accused to the *Emperour* for it: *Iunius Mauricus*, a graue and faithfull Counsellor, being asked by the *Emperour*, what hee thought thereof, said, n *it was not meet the playes should be restored againe to the Viennians*; adding, o *I would to God they might bee taken away at Rome too.* Which *corollarie* of his sentence touching plaies at *Rome*, it may bee, that as p *Pliny* liked very well of, so the *Emperour* did: albeit he gaue order for the not *restoring of the Viennians* onely; and yet shewed great mislike of plaies therein also, forbidding that to be done which by ones q testament was required. Deceiue not your selfe, Master Dr *Gager*, with a vaine conceit, as if, because a *Prince*, farre and farre more excellent

n Non esse restituendum Viennensibus agôna.

o Vellem etiam Romæ tolli posset.

p Viennensiũ vitia intra ipsos residunt: nostra latè vagantur. Vtque in corporibus, sic in imperio grauissimus est morbus, qui à capite diffunditur.

q L. vlt. in fin. C. de fideicom. nov. 1. in præf. parag. Semper.

cellent then *Traian*, though ſumamed [h] *moſt vertuous*, with *Her Councellers* and *Nobles* more honourable then *Mauricus*, did vouchſafe the laſt yeare to ſee that *Comedie* played, which being plaied a few months before I reproued, therefore you had gained againſt me the matter in queſtion betweene vs. Her *Maieſtie* with their *Honours*, & *Commons of the realme*, having made an *Act of Parliament* [i] long ſince, and [k] ſith that time renewed it, that *common players in enterludes, not licenſed by ſpeciall authoritie to goe abroad, ſhall be adiudged rogues & vagabonds*, hath taken away more plaies, and in more places, then *Traian* did by giving order that they ſhould not bee vſed againe at *Vienna*. Whether the *taking of them away at Oxford too*, haue been wiſhed by any of the *Councellers*, who might be notwithſtanding preſent with her *Highnes*, as *Plinie* & *Mauricus* of likelihood were with *Traian* at the plaies in *Rome*: you and I are not ſo neere of their counſell, that we can define. But thus much I may ſay, and ſay it vpon knowledge, that, if your *Comedie* had ſtill as homely ſpeeches (to ſay no worſe) as it had when your *prologue* praiſed it, there is greater cauſe why you ſhould feare the checke which [l] *Auguſtus* gaue one (were not our *Auguſta* the more gracious to vs) for preſuming to play it before a preſence of ſuch honour: then why you ſhould mention to the credit of your plaies, and to my diſcredit, that *they are things done by you, in a worſhipfull, & ſometimes honourable preſence.*

But *reuerend, famous, exeellent men, for life, and learning* (you ſay) *and for their places in the Church of God, haue beene not onely writers of ſuch things themſelues, but alſo actors; and to this day doe thinke well of them: to whom it were a great reproch* (thus you amplifie it) *at any time to haue beene acquainted with things of ſo vile & baſe quality; & much more ſtill to allow of thē.* [m] When the *Donatiſts* praiſed [n] *St Cyprians life, and learning*, and ſpake of [o] *his place in the Church of God*, to countenance their errour by the reputation of ſuch a *Biſhop* and *Martyr*: *S^t Auſtin*, anſwering thē, ſaid that [p] *the authority of Cyprian did not diſmay him, becauſe the humilitie of Cyprian did relieue him.* Which as *Auſtin* ſaid, conſidering how [q] *Cyprian* had ſet downe

[h] Optimus, Plin. locis citatis: & Dio, Trajan. Xiphilini epit.

[i] 14. Eliz. ca. 5.

[k] 35. Eliz. ca. 7.

[l] Pro'og. in Rivales comœdiam: actam Feb. 1591

[m] Non putabam me tibi tam familiarē. Macrob. Saturn. l. 2. cap. 4.

[n] Auguſt. de bapt. contr. Donatiſt. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[o] Cyprianus, cujus tantum meritum novimus, tantāque doctrinā.

[p] Cum cēpiſcopis ſuis.

[q] Non me deterret autoritas Cypriani, quā rehcie humilitas Cypriani.

[r] Ad Quintum, ep. 71. edit. Pam.

downe in writing, that *Peter, whom the Lord chose his* [g] *first Apostle, and* [h] *vpon whom he built his Church, did not, when* [i] *Paul afterward grew to question with him touching circumcision, take proudly on himselfe, to say that he had the prerogatiue of being first, and that new-sprung and later-come ought rather to obey him; neither despised he Paul for* [k] *hauing beene a persequutor of the Church before, but yeelded to the advice of truth, and easily approued the rightfull way, which Paul contended for; giving vs a lesson of peaceablenesse, and patience, that wee should not obstinatly loue our owne conceits; but such things as sometimes are profitably & wholsomely shewed vs by our brethren and fellowes in office, those should we account of as our owne rather, if they bee true and rightfull: whereunto Paul having a carefull eye also, & Christianly providing for concord and peace, said,* [l] *Let the Prophets speake, two or three, and let the rest iudge; and if any thing be reuealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace; teaching therein that many things are reuealed better to particular persons; and that euery one, if any thing be found better and more profitable, ought gladly to embrace it, not obstinatly to striue for that which hee hath once conceiued and maintained:* as these points (I say) noted thus by *Cyprian* made [m] *Austin* be perswaded of him, that seeing he knew, hee might more easily erre then *Peter, he would haue beene very well content to change his minde, if any man by* [n] *Scripture had proued him to be ouerseene, or* [o] *the Church had sifted the truth in a generall Councell, and agreed of it*; so the knowledge of the same engraven in those learned and godly men, whom you speake of, inuceth me to think that when they shall haue weighed what grounds of Gods word, what consent of the *Church*, what *Councells*, what *Fathers*, impugne their opinion, they will not approue your obstinat striuing for it. It may bee, that they will mislike of your art too, in that, for the surer vniting of them to you, & stirring them vp against mee, you doe not onely affirme that they are exceedingly tainted in honour, if *players*, which they *allow of*, bee iustly disallowed by mee: but also, that *it were a great reproach to them*, though *not so exceedingly great*, as is the other, yet a *great reproach, at any time to haue beene acquainted with*

g Mat. 3. 16.
h Mat. 16. 18.
i Gal. 2. 11.
k Act 9. 1.
l 1. Cor. 14. 29
m Lib. 2. ep. 5.
n Saris ostendit, facillime se correcturum fuisse sententiam suam, si quis ei demonstraret, and so forth. meaning this kind of proofe as appeareth by that hee addeth, vnde multa iam diximus, compared with that he pointeth to, l. 1. c. 7. and by Cypr. epistol 47. ad Pompeium.
o Cui & ipse sine dubio cederet, si jam illo tempore quæstionis hujus veritas eliquata & declarata per plenarium concilium solidaretur.

with things of ſo vile and baſe quality. For why? Is the *writing of Comedies*, or *Tragedies*, but what ſpeake I of writing? in mentioning whereof your art appeareth farther, ſith I condemned it not: is the *playing of them* made by mee *a thing of ſo vile and baſe qualitie, as perſequuting or blaſphemie*? Yet *Saint Paul* thought it no *great* diſgrace *for him,* [n] *in former time to haue beene a blaſphemer, & a perſequuter*, when [o] he was *now become a faithfull miniſter of Chriſt*: no more then for the *Romanes* [p] *to haue beene ſlaues of ſinne*, when *they did not obey the doctrine of the Goſpell*; or of *Abraham* [q] to haue beene in the land of *Chaldaea* & *ſerued other Gods* there; when [r] he *came now to Chanaan*, and [ſ] *ſerued there the Lord.* Not, [t] to haue beene evill, is a *reproach*, but to bee. Againe, what reaſon haue you to ſay that *a much greater reproach it were to them: ſtill to allow of plaies*, when you commend S[t] *Cyprian* as a man of ſingular godlines, and zeale, [u] who did more then *allow*, another maner of matter then *plaies*, euen *rebaptizing of men baptized by hereticks*? For as he followed [x] his predeceſſors in his errour, & therefore was the more excuſable: ſo had the reuerend men, whom you alleage, their predeceſſors that trained them to the liking of plaies. Neither is it probable that they haue beene aduertiſed of their ouerſight by any ſuch mans writing, as *Cyprian* was by [y] *Stephanus*. And [z] *Cyprian* continued in his errour ſtill, notwithſtanding that aduertiſement: how know you that they haue not changed their opinion? Or, if they haue not changed it, they may ere they die: which none is able to ſay that *Cyprian* did, for ought that [a] *Auſtin* could finde, a man moſt likely to haue found it, had there been ought that could haue ſhewed it. Wherefore it ſauoureth ſtongly of a bad qualitie, that you would perſwade them, they muſt by my iudgment be noted and diſgraced with a *fowle exceeding great reproach and infamy, if they allow of plaies ſtill.* Much worſe doth it ſauour, that you beare them in hand, although their mindes ſhould alter and thinke hereof when they pray, [b] *Remember not O Lord the ſinnes of my youth*, it muſt bee nevertheleſſe *a great reproach vnto them, at any time to haue beene acquainted with the writing and playing of ſuch matters*, But what *qualitie*, nay,

n 1 Tim. 1.13.
o ver. 12.
p Rom. 6.17.
q Ioſ. 24 2.
r Gen. 12.5.
ſ verſ. 8.
t Pſal. 119. 67
Luk. 15.10.
1 Cor. 6.11.
Rev. 3.18. & 7.14. & 19 8.
u Epiſt. 70. ſequentibuſq; & conc Carthag. de bap. hæret.
x Epiſt. 71. & 73.
y Vincent. Lirin. contr. hær cap. 9.
z Epiſt. 73. & 74.
a Epiſt 48 & de bapt. cont. Donatiſt. lib. 2. cap. 4.
b Pſal. 25.7.

nay, what canker ſhall I ſay it ſauoureth of, that, vnto the *Pro-*
c 1 Cor. 14. 32. *phets*, whoſe iudgemēt and autoritie the c *ſpirits* of theſe *Pro-*
phets were likely to be moued with, I meane, vnto the *Fathers*
and councels laid in balance by mee againſt your teſtimonies,
you reply, that, *if they be rightly vnderſtood, their forces are*
not bent againſt you; Whereas your own penne telleth you, that
you know the contrary. For, the firſt and greateſt counſell
that I quoted, is d that generall Counſell of *Conſtantinople*,
d Sexta ſynodus in Trullo. e Epiſtolar. L. 2. ep. 2. f Cothurnus eſt tragicus priſca facinora carmine recenſere, &c. g Epiſt. 61. or (as your copy hath it) lib. 1. ep. 10. h Cum in lege prohibeantur viri mulierem induere veſtē & maledicti eiuſmodi iudicentur; quanto maioris eſt criminis non tantum muliebra indumenta accipere, ſed & geſtus quoq; turpes, & molles, et muliebres, magiſtro artis impudicæ exprimere? i Quemadmodum maſculus frangatur in fœminam.
which (grounding it ſelfe vpō the place of *Deuteronomie*) *noteth*
mens wearing of womens raiment in plaies as a hainous crime.
Now this to make againſt you, even being *rightly vnderſtood*,
your ſelfe did acknowledge whē I alleaged it afore: in ſo much
that you oppoſed therevnto *the opinion of others interpreting*
that text otherwiſe then the counſell doth. The ſame did you
likewiſe confeſſe of ſundry *Fathers* vpon the ſame occaſion. &
namely of Saint *Cyprian*; whō here notwithſtanding you doe
namely mention as making not againſt you: yea, whom you
moreover doe ſet downe for a ſpeciall patterne of the reſt, to
infer thē generall, that none of all *the Fathers* or *Councels* doe
reprooue your plaies. For, Saint e *Cyprian* (ſay you) *inveigh-*
eth moſt eloquently and Godly againſt the abuſes of the f *tra-*
gike buskin in his time. So he doth alſo againſt the evills of
warre, of iudgement ſeats, of iudges, of advocates, of golde, &
riches. Shall wee therefore conclude there ſhould be no warre, no
tribunals, no iudges, no advocates, no golde, no riches; and like-
wiſe no tragike buskin in any ſort? Wherevpon you adde; *No*
doubt the Fathers, as holy men of God, both in their councells,
and in their bookes, haue decreed, and written many zealous &
moſt godly things againſt the theatricall ſights of their times:
but diſtinguiſheth the times, the places, the qualities of the ſights
& actors, & the vſe from the abuſe; & it is evident by that which
is ſaid before, that we and our plaies are not reproched by them.
Thus labour you to face it out that your *plaies are not repro-*
ched by the Fathers, as dealing forſooth, iuſt like Saint *Cyprian*
againſt *the abuſes of playing tragedies, not the vſe*; when yet you
had graunted that g he condemneth h *the attyring of boyes in*
womens raiment, and teaching them to i *play the women*, the ſelfe
ſame

ſame thing he doth in the [k] place you quote: ſo that your tragedie-playing is reproued by him in your owne conſcience, becauſe of your *Melantho* and *Naus* played by boyes, although it were true that *he inveigheth only againſt the abuſes* thereof as you diſtinguiſh.

The truth is that he diſtinguiſheth not ſo, neither for *tragicke buskin*, nor for *comicke ſtert vp*, but inveigheth againſt *ſtage-playing* it ſelfe: in like ſort as hee doth againſt the games and fights of [l] *fenſers*, or *ſword-plaiers*, and of [m] *beaſt-plaiers* (ſo to terme them) wherewith he matcheth this of [n] *ſtage-players*. So that the abſurd concluſion which you frame, of *no warre, no iudges, no aduocates, no ritches, if no tragike buskin*, is framed amiſſe on error, and would haue reaſon enough if it were framed rightly, as it ſhould bee, thus, that, *if no ſtage-playing ought to be allowed by Saint Cyprians iudgement, then ought there no* [o] *vniuſt warres, no perfidious aduocates, no* [p] *corrupt iudges, no* [q] *couetous encrochers on the poore, to be allowed: becauſe he inveigheth as well againſt the iniquity, treatherie, briberie, and miſery of theſe, as he doth againſt ſtage-playing*. Or, if you will needs haue him to reprove the abuſes only of *ſtage-playing*, not the thing: then belike reaſon he reprooueth not the bloody ſport and game of *beaſt-players*, or of *ſword-plaiers*, but the abuſes of it. Which, I hope you will not affirme to be his meaning, no not for the former, ſith [r] *the Church condemned it*, as [s] *Epiphanius* witneſſeth: [t] it I ſay the thing, not the *abuſes* of it, as if it had a right vſe, allowed by the *Church*. At leaſt you wil not make it his meaning for the latter; which *Emperours*, leſſe ſevere then that holy Martyr, euen [u] *Conſtantine*, [w] *Theodoſius*, [x] *Honorius*, and [y] *Iuſtinian*

[k] Evirantur mares; honor omnis & vigor ſexus enervati corporis dedecore molliuntur; pluſque illic placet quiſquis virū in eminam magis fregerit.

[l] Paramur gladiatorius ludus & libidinem crudelium luminum ſanguis oblectet.

[m] Quid illud, oro te, quale eſt, vbi ſe feris obiciunt quos nemo damnavit?

[n] Converte hinc vultus ad diverſa ſpectaculi non minus pœnitenda contagia: in theatris conſpicies, quod tibi & dolori ſit & pudori. [o] Homicidium quum admittunt ſinguli, crimen eſt: virtus vocatur quum publicè geritur. [p] Patronus prævaricatur, & decepit. [q] Iudex ſententiam vendit. [r] Divites, continuantes ſalebus ſaltus, & de confinio pauperibus excluſis infinita ac ſine terminis rura latius porrigentes. [s] [illegible] [t] Adverſ. hær. concluſ. compend. ver. doctr. de fide cath. & apoſt. Eccleſiæ. [u] κυνήγια translated venationem, meaning that hunting which Caſſiodore deſcribeth, variar. lib 5. epiſt. 42. Quo numero venatur explendus eſt, qui, vt ſpectantibus placeat, ſuis moribus elaborat, &c. [x] Euſeb. lib. 4. vit. Conſtant. cap. 25. [y] Cod. Theod. lib. 15. tit. 12. lib. 1. & Theodoret. hiſt. eccl. lib. 5. cap. 26.

[y] *Iustinian*, tooke absolutely away by *edictes* and *lawes*, as a thing faulty of it selfe. Though when I consider your speech, aboue rehearsed, of so many *Circi, Theatra, Amphitheatra builded by the greatest & bravest Romans with huge charge; & of games set out therein, referred by Aristotle to magnificence, a goodly vertue*: Your professed desire of *approuing the Romans iudgement* so farre forth, as *serveth for the necessary defense of your owne doings*, causeth me to doubt that seeing in [z] *Theatra, condemned* by the *Church*, you distinguish *abuse* frō *vse*, you will in [a] *Circi* also, and [b] *Amphitheatra*; and therefore say that *Cyprian* reproueth not the *vse*, but the *abuses* only of *beast-plaies*, yea of *sword-plaies*, vnlesse there come some other shift into your minde for severance of your *stage-plaies* from them. And sure if one possessed with [m] *Machiavells* humour and loue of *bloody sacrifices*, as helping by the sight thereof to make men valiant, should wish for *bloody games* of *sword-plaiers* in like respect: he migh by your example not only chalenge them from the *marke* of *infamy* wherewith the *Romans* branded them, (for [c] *Iuvenal*, [d] *Suetonius*, [e] *Tacitus*, and so forth, doe reproach noble men and Knights for *sword-playing*, not base folke:) but also defende them from the reproofe of *Cyprian* and all the rest of the Fathers. For [f] *Cyprian inveigheth most eloquently and Godly against the abuses of sword-playing in his time. So* [g] *he doth also against the evills of warre, of iudgement seats, of iudges of advocates, of Gold, and ritches: Shall wee therefore conclude there should be no warre, no tribunals, no iudges, no advocates, no gold, no ritches, and likewise no sword-playing in any sort? No doubt the* g *Fathers, as holy men of God, hauing written many zealous & most godly things against the amphitheatricall sights of their times: but distinguisheth the times, the places, the qualities of the sights & actors, and the vse from the abuse; and it is evident by that which Machiavell* saith, *that sword-plaies of our age are not reproached by them.* A very true sentence, that, *no doubt the Fathers haue written many zealous and most Godly things a*

y C. de gladiatoribus penitus tollendis.
z θέατρα Epiphanius. in the place quoted.
a Ludi circenses: which he nameth ἱππικοῦς.
b θέατρον κυνηγετικόν, ὃ καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον. Dio lib. 43. vsed not only to κυνήγια, whereof Epiphanius; but also to μονομαχίας & gladiatoria certamina Tertul. de spect. cap. 12. & 19.
c Discours. sopr. liv. lib. 2. cap. 2. Osor. de nobilit. Christ. lib. 3.
d Satyr. 8.
e August. cap. 43. Calig. cap. 30.
f Annal. lib. 15.
g De spectac. cap. 4.
h Epist. lib. 2. ep 2.
i Iren. lib. 1. cap. 1. Tertul. de spect. cap. 19. Arnob. adverl. gent. lib. 2. Minut. Felix in Octav. Lactan. divinar. instit. epit. cap. 4. August. confess. lib. 6. cap. 8. Prudent. contr. Symach. lib. 2.

against

gainſt theſe ſights of both ſorts: and likewiſe true, no doubt, that *it is as evident by Machiavels diſcourſe*, that, if ſuch *ſword-plaies* ſhould now be vſed in *London*, as were then at *Rome*, the *Fathers checke them* not; as it is by yours, that *the Fathers doe not reproach the ſame ſtage-plaies* of *Plautus*, *Terence*, *Seneca*, or worſe (which compariſon *Rivals* may well bare) plaied here of late, among vs. Wherefore it had beene better for your credit to contain your ſelfe within generalities, by ſaying that *men miſtake the Fathers*: as *Machiavell* contented himſelfe to ſay in groſſe, that *baſe and cowardly wretches haue miſſe-interpreted our religion*. For then I could not haue blamed you about particulars; your policie had prevented me, as it hath in *Chryſoſtome*: whoſe teſtimonie, [t] quoted by me againſt your waſtfull expenſes on ſuch toies, you make no anſwer to, no more then to [u] others whom I quoted not. Now, when you affirme that *Cyprian*, and the reſt, *writing againſt the theatricall ſights of their times, doe not write againſt ſuch as in our time are vſed*: I muſt needs tell you, that you ſhew leſſe conſcience & ſinglenes in your writing, then to whom you ought and eaſily might excell in all religious duties, *Bodinus*, and *Lipſius*. Of whom [x] the one, declaring what *neede* there is for *Cenſors* for *theaters of our time*, alleageth ſundry Fathers, and namely *Cyprian*, againſt them: yea, that very *epiſtle* of [y] *Cyprian*, which you ſpecifie, and wring to the contrarie. The [z] other, obſeruing how *the Fathers haue enveighed againſt games, as* [a] *ſprings of luſt and cruelty*; pointing, in the terme of luſt, vnto *theaters*; of *crueltie*, vnto *amphitheaters*; doth argue that *ſword-plaies*, if they were vſed in our time, might be as well denied to bee *reproached by the Fathers*, as *ſtage-plaies* of our time are. But, with whatſoeuer cunning or boldneſſe, you blinde the eyes of children, and make them beleeue that theſe ancient *Prophets* write not againſt your fanſie: the praies giuen by you to our owne *Prophets*, thoſe *reuerend and famous perſons* now liuing, cauſeth me to feare I was too faint when I ſaid, *They will not approue your obſtinate ſtriving for it*; I ſhould haue ſaid, *They will not approue your bare opinion*: or this, *will*, is alſo too faint; *They doe not approue it*. For, being *excellent men in life*, they

t Homil. 56. Gen. ἀγαμε πλανᾶσθε.

u Clem. Alexandr. pœdag. lib. 3. cap. 11. μὴ πάνυ κατατρυφᾶν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. Salvian. de gubern. Dei lib. 6. Perditæ expenſæ.

x Bodin. de repub. lib. 6. ca. 1.

y Lib. 2. ep. 2.

z Lipſ. de gladiatorib. lib. 1. cap. 7.

a Libidinis ſæuitiæ que fontes.

loue modestie, and yeeld vnto the knowne truth. Being *excellent in learning*, they know that your *theatricall sights* are of the same kinde, that the *Fathers* haue *decreed in their Councells, and written in their bookes against. The things which the Fathers haue decreed and written, are* not only *zealous* but also *most godly*, as you say. *Most godly*; therefore consonant to the holy *Scriptures*: on the ground whereof it is expressly noted by [b] *Epiphanius* likewise that [c] *the churches doctrine & ordinances were framed.* And how can it be thought then with any likelyhood, that *those reverend persons doe approue your stage-plaies*: which, by all presumptions, and owne verdict, they know that the *Church, the Fathers the counsels, the scriptures* haue condemned? Indeede if they were Papists, and such as would rather put on the shameles forehead of the *whoore of Babylon*, then confesse themselues to haue beene ouerseene: a man might haue reason to thinke that their own doings they would still allow of. For, whereas the prophane & wicked toies of *Passion-plaies*, plaies setting forth *Christs passion*, procured [d] by *Popish Priests*, who, being [e] *corrupted from the simplicitie* that is in *Christ*, as they haue transformed the celebrating of the Sacrament of [c] the *Lords supper* into a [f] *Masse-game*, and all other parts of *Ecclesiasticall service* in [g] *theatricall sights*; so, in steede of [h] *preaching the word*, they caused it to be plaied; a thing [i] put in practise by their flowers, the *Iesuits*, among the poore *Indians*; but whereas these bables were reproved by [k] *Vives*: the [l] *Purgatory censors* commanded [m] the reproofe of his to be defaced; and the [n] *Divines* of *Lovan* haue razed it out accordingly. Yea, though [o] *some Italian Bishops in a Councell*, vnder their *Archbishop Cardinall Borrhomaeus*, haue [p] *ordered*, for their *Province, that the passion shall not be plaied hereafter any where*: yet (for feare of breeding a scruple in mens mindes that their *Church migh erre*) they say, [q] *it was a custome religiously brought in.* So loath are ambitious spirits to acknow-

b In the place aboue quoted. c οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ νόμου, καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν συνηγμένος.

d Magno scelere atque impietate sacerdotum, qui eiusmodi fieri curant saith Vives.

e 2. Cor. 11. 3.

f 1 Cor. 11. 20.

g Missale Romanum. tit. de ritib. celebrandi missam.

h Sacerdotale, pontificiale & Ceremoniale Romanum.

i 2 Tim 4. 2.

k Epist. Iapanic. 18. Io. Fernandis Bongo.

l Comment. in Augustin. de civ. Dei lib. 8. cap. 27.

m Index ex purgatorius.

n Deleantur cap. 27. litera. D. ab, Atqui mos nunc est, &c. vsque ad E.

o Antuerpiensi editione operum Aug. p Concil. Mediolan. 1. Const. part. 1. cap. de actionib. & repres. sacris. q Statuimus vt deinceps Saluatoris passio nec in sacro, nec in profano loco agatur. r Pie introducta consuetudo representandi populo venerandam Christi Domini passionem.

ledge

ledge their ouerſights and faults, But ſeeing that our *reuerend Paſtors and Doctors haue another ſpirit*, as [r] he ſaith of *Caleb*, and profeſſe a purer religion then *Papiſts*: you muſt giue mee leaue to ſuſpect rather that you charge them wrongfully, then that *men of excellent godlineſſe and wiſdome doe allow and think well of* ſo manifold evills, as in your plaies I haue diſcloſed. And thus, a great deale later I then my deſire & hope, was but as ſoone as ſickneſſe and buſineſſe would permit, haue you that performed; which in your concluſion, by words, you requeſt me to *forbeare* the doing of, in your whole diſcourſe, by deedes, you haue induced and vrged me to vndertake. The reaſon added by you to moue mee to forbeare it, namely, that *I haue ſome thing elſe to doe, then to trouble my ſelfe, & my better ſtudies, with a matter of this nature and moment*; I know not whether it would haue ſeemed ſound to others, ſure to me it did not. For, if I had lived among the *Iewes* at that time, when [s] *the prieſts neglecting the ſeruice of the alter, and ſacrifices of the law, made haſt to be partakers* [t] *of vnlawfull games in the wraſtling place*: I ſhould of all ſtudies haue deemed that the *beſt*, which the Lord requireth at his *Prophets* hands, [o] *to riſe vp in the gappe*, & keepe out [p] the enimie ſtriving to enter in thereby. What *ſtudie* therefore could I account ſo good, as this, to ſpend my vacant time in, when *Chriſtians*, [u] *annointed by God*, [x] *an holy prieſthood*, make haſt from *ſpirituall ſacrifices and ſeruice* to be partakers of *ſtage-plaies*; that is, of more vnlawfull games then were [y] thoſe exerciſes in the *wraſtling place* as [z] the thing it ſelfe, & your own [a] law may teach you? Again, the [b] vertuous training vp of youth among vs, and the [c] godly life of all ſorts of perſons, are *matters of great moment* and weight in his ſight, [d] who without *reſpect of perſon iudgeth euerie man according to his worke*. Now, what hurt is it for youth to be ſeaſoned with a liking of *ſtage-plaiers*; I ſay not to bee ſtageplaiers themſelues, which is worſe, but to haue a liking and loue of ſuch only; the *author of the dialogue* (were it *Tacitus*, or *Quintilian*) *touching the decay of eloquence* [e] *among the*

r Numb. 14. 24. ſ 2 Maccab. 4. 14.
t τῶν ἐν παλαίστρᾳ παρανόμων ἀγωνισμάτων.
u Ezek. 13. 5.
x Mat. 13 25. Eph. 6. 11 1 Pet 2. 11
y 1 Ioh. 2. 20
z 1 Pet. 2 5
a τὸν τύπον ἐν ᾧ γυμνάζονται παῖδες ἐν ἑλλάδι, παλαίστραν καλοῦσι. Plutarc. Symposiac. lib. 2. queſt 4
b 1 Cor. 9. 25. Tertullian lib. ad Martyras, cap 3.
c L. 4. Comparata cum l 2. D. de his qui not. infam.
d Prov. 22. 6.
e Mat. 5. 14. Eph 2. 10. Phil. 2. 15.
f 1 Pet. 1. 17.
2 Dialog. de oratorib. Tacito inſcripto.
g Propria & peculiaria huius vitæ, hiſtrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque ſtudia. Quibus occupatus & obſeſſus animus quantu'um loci bonis artibus relinquit,

Romans, doth shew by their example. And, how the maners of all spectators commonly are hazarded by the contagion of Theatricall sights, I made plaine vnto you in my former letters by the testimonies of learned men and noble nations; all granted by your selfe, or as good as granted, in that you haue either not answered them at all, or vnsufficiently. Wherefore, considering S.[a] *Aust.* zealous care to reclaime *Alipius* (a young man whō he loued, a worthy *Bishop* afterward) frō[b] the vain delight that he tooke in seeing games of *chariot-drivers*: I could not but esteeme it a thing of price, and worth, to seeke to reclaime from a farre more vaine & dangerous delight the Students of your house, among whom there are many no lesse deere to me then *Alipius* was to *Austin*, and as likely (by Gods grace) hereafter to proue well. With whom I haue also greater cause to hope that I shall prevaile, then he had with *Alipius*, because your selfe tell me, that *you doe and ever will most gladly embrace, not only my good will, but also my iudgement in this cause so farre as I write in the generall against stageplaiers.* For I am perswaded that their opinions of me are as kinde as yours: & then doe they agree with mee in a manner about the point we treate of. They will agree wholy, if they weigh advisedly one *rule*, which[c] you can teach them, and I would I might entreat you so to doe: namely, that[d] *the generall doth evermore comprise the speciall.* The Lord behold both them, and you, in his mercy: and giue you all his grace to know the way that leadeth vnto life eternall, and to walke therein. At *Queenes Colledge*, the 30th of *May*. 1593.

[a] Confession lib. 6. cap. 7.
[b] Insania Circensium, as S. Austin termeth it.
[c] L. 147. D. de regulis iuris.
[d] Semper specialia generalibus insunt.

Yours in the Lord
Iohn Rainolds.

Ioanni Rainoldo Doct. Theologo clariss. Albericus Gentilis, S.

NON feres, opinor, aegrè, missa hæc à me in vulgus, quæ vnum habent, & alterum aliter, atque tu senseris, & docueris. Neq; enim ego contrà te stare volui, à quo steti semper, & Deo faciente stabo: sed adversus alios disputavi, quos sequi non potui: eos etsi tu sequereris, & ad probares. Rogavi te coràm de vtraq; quæstione: nec tamen audire à te nisi nudam sententiam tuam valui: Petij etiam à communi amico nostro Errico Cuffio, vt de te ipsum hoc scisciteretur, si mihi autor esses, vt commentationes istas typis mandarem. Sed aut te convenire ille non potuit: aut accepit nihil, quod responderet. Audi, mi Rainolde: quæstionem de histrionibus publicè ego tractavi antea quam tibi hac quæstio cum altero esset. Itaq; ipsam demere nunc de corpore reliquo, honestum non fuerit. Immo ad me spectare videtur, defendere semper ius civile, quod profiteor, & quod semper iustissimum observavi. In vestras autem si sedesq; veni, non solum tutari conatus sum nostras: tu illud nosti turis esse, quando & tu invisere nos in nostris sedibus volnisti. Quanquam de te ego cogitare nequivi, qui post meam commentationem ingressus es istam disceptationem: at moralia, & politica sacrorum librorum aut nostra existimavi, aut certè communia nobis, & theologis: & verò etiamnum versor in eadem opinione. Vale, vir clarissime. Et de meis his chartis, & literis sic facies, vt te in opere, quod nunc aggrederis, arduo, & summo, ne tantillum quidem morentur: neq; enim tanti sunt. Iul. 7

ALBERICO GENTILI, I.C. Professori Regio, IO. RAINOLDVS S.

QVæ duo per epistolam, erudite Gentilis, à me videris petere, ea tibi lubens ambo concedo: alterum, ne ægrè feram commentarium à te in lucem editum, qui meam sententiam de Samuele pythonissæ, & histrionibus oppugnet; alterum, vt literas chartásq; tuas sic accipiam, ne me in opere, quod aggredior, vel tantillum morentur. Cur enim ego tibi magis iraſcar, quod de Samuele adversus [a] Augustinum, alios q; theologos à [b] me citatos disputes; aut quæstionem de histrionibus publicè tractaris antea quàm ego de ijs cum altero cõtroversiæ: quàm tu succenseas mihi, quòd probationes opiniones tuæ à [c] Bellarmino propositas iam pridem convellerim; & à pestibus scenicorum spectaculisq; theatralibus [d] nostros dehortatus sim, prius quàm tu cathedram istam, ex qua ludios laudas, occupares. Nihil autem esse quamobrem me chartæ tuæ remorentur, verissimo colligis argumento: Neq; enim tanti sunt, inquis. Huc accedit, quod actum agere vetamur proverbio. Et ego, in meis adversus Bellarminum de Samuele prælectionibus, rationes omnes, quibus [e] contendis Samuelem ipsum à pythonissa evocatum, satis superq; refutavi. Binis porrò literis, quas ad familiare n tuum de ludis ludionibusq;, vti scis, scripsi, ea quæ ex Platone, Aristotele; Tertulliano, Augustino, Aquinate, alijsq; citas, aut falsò, aut frustra vrgeri, planum feci. Quin & ipse [f], quum fabularum, quales Terentianæ sunt, verbis factisque inhonestis & improbis aspersæ, actores pronuntias jure improbari, sententiam meam astruis. Nam Vlysses redux, Hippolytus, & Rivales (de quibus amici tui Momus hanc quæ nobis est litem excitavit) non minus illis vitijs laborant, quàm nonnullæ, immò Rivales multo magis, quàm vlla, Terentij. Itaque licet quædam [f] addas refutatu forsitan non indigna, vt quod mimos asseris habitu muliebri egisse personam viri, lenonis, adulteri, temulenti, ne temulenti in Risvalibus eorum similes videantur; & [g] Theophrasti exemplo, qui in schola docens, ita omnes, gestus rei, quam tractabat, congruentes

a 26.q.5 c. nec mirum.
b Prælectionib. ad Eccle. cap. 46.
c De purgatorio, l. 2. c. 6.
d Præfat. thes. ad Academ. Oxon.
e Comment. ad l. b. c. de malef & mathemat.
f Comment. ad l. 3. c. de professorib. & med.
g Athenæ, l. 1.

gruentes adhibuit, vt exerta lingua libra circumlinxerit quum heluonem describeret, histrionem oratori concludas esse necessariam: tamē cùm hoc redarguat [b] Quintilianus illud [i] Macrobius, alij alij, quorum ad fontes digitum intendi; & operam in minus firmis refellendis, qui firmiora frangerim, à me sumi nolis; obsequor voluntati tuæ. Ac eo quidem facio libentius quæ cupis, quoniam impetrare à te vicissim uveo, vt, si qui deinceps typis excudes, in ijs duarum rerum majorem habeas rationem; pietatis, & modestiæ. Pietatis dico, non tam ob eam causam quod theologorum autoritate in rebus religionis te valde moveri dicas, in rebus morum non valde; quanquam ob eam quoq; nam [k] theologia, vt fidei, sic vitæ est magistra: quàm quod histrionem colendam esse statuis, non tanquam rem honestam, sed tanquam necessariam naturæ depravatæ & medendis hominum vitijs. Et sicut nec medici à mendacio refugiunt officioso, nec alij vlli (tua hæc sunt verba) quod [l] alias explicavi; & mendacium res omnium turpissima est tamē: ita hic medici isti ab his indecoris imitationibus non subtrahent se: Et morbos corporis per spectacula curari scribit Hippocrates. Vbi enim [m] fides doceat non facienda mala vt eveniant bona, primum, dolco te, quem fidei causa exulare ferunt, & mendacium rem turpissimam esse confiteri, & emolumenti gratia mentiendum contendere. Deinde, nullos esse qui officiosum mendacium refugiant, nullos non modò medicos, sed nec alios vllos, nollem dixisses: ne cui videaris memoriam [n] ejus renovare, qui, impurus ipse, persuasissimum habuit neminem hominem pudicum, aut vlla corporis parte purum esse, verùm plerosq; dissimulare vitium, & calliditate obtegere. Præterea, quum adjungis te alias hoc explicasse, amandas nos ad similem [o] commentationem, in qua id confirmas Heliodori gravis scilicet autoris, judicio, & isto Poëtæ nescio cujus versu. Quum vitia prosunt, peccat qui rectè facit. Qua sententia quid potest fingi flagitiosius, impurius, execrabilius? Et tamen quo magis eam, ejusque scopum, adversus Dei verbum, cujus memini, præmunias. Scito (inquis) in tota hac disputatione non me vllibi dicere mala facienda vt bona adveniant, sed abusum malorum malum non esse, at bonum. Ita, quia mendacijs curantur melancho-

[b] Instit. Orat. lib. 1. cap. 19.
[i] Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 7. Indu & habitu Syri, qui velat flagris cæsus, &c.
[k] Exod. 20. 2. 2. Tim. 3. 16.
[l] Lib. 2. de jure bell.
[m] Rom. 3. 8.
[n] Sueton. Ner. cap. 29.
[o] De jure bell. comment. 2.

lancholici, vt ibidem adijcis, quemadmodum hîc & morbos per ſpectacula curari notas: diſtinguis, hunc abuſum, quem vocas, mendacij bonum eſſe, non malum; neque verbo dei diſputatione tua contradici. Quo genere argutiolæ, ſtuprum, adulterium, inceſtum, & quid non? Defendere licebit. Nam [p] Antiochus, Seleuci filius, contrahendis inceſtis cum noverca nuptijs, è graviſſimo evaſit morbo: ac licet inceſtus ſit malus, nec committendus vt adveniat bonum; tamen abuſus malorum (vt tu doces) malus non eſt, ſed bonus. Huiuſmodi fundamenta impietatis & nequitiæ vehementer peto ne amplius nobis jacias; præſertim in operibus quæ typis evulgabis; idq; in Academia noſtra; & viro clariſſimo, inſigni eccleſiæ lumini, dedicatis; ac ita dedicatis, vt etiam ejus filio, lectiſſimo, & ſummæ ſpei puero, Tobiæ, legenda commendentur. Vides enim quanto cum dedecore noſtro fama, à comitijs noſtris, quoquoverſum perlatura ſit, pueros, quibus maximam deberi reverentiam profanus [q] poëta ſenſuit, in noſtra Academia publicè doceri vt de rebus morum quid theologi ſentiant non magnopere curent; neq; vereantur mentiri quum erit commodum; imò peccare ſe putent, ſi, quum vitia proſunt, rectè faciant; & malorum quidem vſum Dei verbo condemnari credant, ſed abuſum malorum malum eſſe negent, bonum contendant. Moneſtiæ verò plus in tuis ſcriptis ideirco deſidero, quod [r] Deuteronomij locum interpretatus aliter ac theologi, ac patres, ac concilia, quemadmodum declaravi, concludis hoc epiphonemate: Nihil facit lex illa Dei adverſus hiſtrioniam; & minus nihilo aliud, quicquid theologi afferunt. Dixeras paulò prius te theologorum autoritate in rebus religionis moveri valde: & ſcripturarum interpretatio res eſt religionis. Quanto conſultius veterum Romanorum laudatum à [s] M. Tullio conſuetudinem ſequutus eſſes, vt arbitrari te diceres etiam quæ ſcires, quàm vt tam fidenter quod neſcis affirmares. Nam, quod legem Moſis, Non induetur mulier veſte virili, nec vir vtetur veſte fœminea, interpretaris, contra omnes theologos, non propriè, ſed figuratè; non de veſtibus, ſed de flagitio retectis veſtibus commiſſo: hujus rei probationem, etſi petitione principij tantùm nixam, tamen fidenter item aſſeris percunctando; Nam

additur

[p] Appian. de bell. Syriac. Plutarch. vita Demetr.

[q] Iuv. Sat. 14.

[r] Deut. 22, 5.

[s] Orat. pro Fonteio.

additur ibi, inquis, Abominabilis apud Deum est, qui facit hęc? quod autem scelus hic est, vt sit abominatio? Minimè quidem miror, te, quem theologorum autoritas non movet in re religionis, in qua te permultum illis tribuere profiteris verbo, atq; adeò in scriptis modò affirmaveras; ita eorum disputationes de histrionia, re nimirum morali, flocci facere, vt quicquid theologi contra eam afferunt, id omne minus nihilo esse asseverâs. Quamquam hoc minus nihilo esse aliquid, familiaris tuus, tametsi tuis istis magnis multisq; adjutus, suo fortasse ad meas literas, vel responso docebit, vel silentio. Sed vtut hæc sese habeant, modestiam quidem certè in pronuntiando majorem vt adhibeas, præsertim quum de rebus religionis agis, tua te ipsius experientia, in rebus morum, immò juris admonere debet. Qui, cùm affirmes, atque ex [t] Tacito doceas, in theatro publico vel orationes, vel carmina recitare, probrosum Romæ visum: satis demonstras te [u] Prætoris verba, Infamis est qui artis ludicræ pronuntiandive causâ in scenam prodierit, nimis fœdo pede (quod aiunt) transiisse. Nam, vt concedatur quod Aleiato tribuis, artem non facere eum, qui semel, iterum, quid artis facit: at pronuntiandi causa in scenam prodit, qui prodit semel tantùm; ac propter notam & metuit Laberius, & subierunt de quibus Tacitus, tametsi gratis recitarent. Vale: & meam admonitionem eodem quæso animo, quo ego munusculum tuum, accipias, id est, grato, candidoq;. Iul. 10. 1593.

[t] Annal. l. 14.

[u] L. 1. D. de his qui notantur infam.

Ioanni Rainoldo Doct: Theol: Clariss: A: Gentilis: S.

Nec̃ grato, candidóve animo munusculum meum accepisti, nec̃ quidquam est in literis tuis non longè, latec̃ positum à veritate. Quid enim tu me impietatis, & nequitiæ dicis architectum in quæstione de mendacio officioso, in qua ipsum hoc non intelligis, quid sit officiosum mendacium? Etenim meministi, recensuisse te Petri illud in officiosis, quod contra omne officium fidei, & religionis fuit. Quid me impurissimo assimulas prin-

principi, si imò reliqui nullum tibi in eadem quæstione scriptorem extra theologos, at alios omnes nec sine theologis mecum facere explicavi? Te ad epistolas meas amando: cæteros ad libros magis, quàm ad commentationes de iure belli; quos exituros aliquando, præmonui dedicatione prima ad illustrissimum Comitem: &, Deo volente, edam brevi. Tua enim istiusmodi admonitiones non tenent me, quem aut in ea parte non improbant viri in Ecclesia, & republica vestra clarissimi, & laudatissimi. Quid me modestiæ læsæ facis tu reum, qui nunc ex papistico spiritu arces meæ tractatione librorum sacrorum: Et, quod Erastus ait similibus tui, non vides, tentare hac te eis, annos istos septuaginta? Non vides, te cum eo sic agere imperiose, qui Papæ imperium contempsit, & exulare patria potuit, & universo regno Papali? Verissima ferunt, qui hæc ferunt: & in his tu vinceris à me, qui pro pietate me obiurgas tamen, Communes sunt sacri libri, & in his, quæ spectant ad secundam tabulam, nostri magis, quam vestri. Sic vt, autoritati theologorum valde nos tribuere hic, minimè necesse sit. Doce contrarium tu, si potes. Noli calumniari, me pueros docere, vt de rebus morum non magnopere curent, quid sentiant theologi. nam de me, de iurisconsulto scripsi, & re politica. De re religionis quod scripsi, id sentio: & in ea serio theologorum valde tribuo autoritati. Sed res religionis quid est? Scripturarum interpretatio omnis, aut omnium, non est religionis. Theologia fidei, & vitæ magistra est. Sed non omnis vitæ. Nec omnis pars sermonum Dei in solidum vestra est. Ostende diversum, audiam. De rationibus theologorum in quæstione ista de histrionibus sic censui, vt quas contra histriones illos publicè mercenarios, & indignarum fabularum actores habent, ea nihili non sint. Sed quæ sunt adversus omnem histrioniam, eas minus nihilo esse, asserui, & verò etiam rum assero. Pudet earum me, quas Tertullianus, quem vnum è nostris iurisconsultis opinantur, adfert adversus cothurnos tragicos, & fictas scænicorum personas. Quæm etiam obtrudere pro Potentissima videtur, esse nihili, demonstravi. Nec fidenter (vt tu ais) adfirmo, quod nescio: sed tu reprehendis confidentissimè, quæ non capis. Audi, audi. Quæ in histrionia vitari peccata negotio nullo sæpe solent, & possunt semper; ea nihil contra histrioniam faciunt. Sed peccatum illud, si quod est, promiscui vesti-

men-

mentorum vſus vitari ſæpe ſolet, & ſemper poteſt. Ergo. Qui ſenſus bonarum aliarum legum eſt prohibentium hunc vſum veſtium, idem veriſimiliter eſt & bonæ legis Dei. Sed aliarum legum ſenſus nihil facit contra hiſtrionam. Abominatio vbi dicitur in Scripturis, ibi peccatum ſignificatur, quod facilè ſuperet flagitia pleraq; omnia. Sed hoc veſtimentorum non eſt tale. Ergo vbi dicitur abominatio, ibi hoc peccatum non ſignificatur. Et vbi propria ſignificatio non accipitur, ibi figurata fuerit, vel aliter impropria. At in lege illa Dei propria ſignificatio non accipitur. Quæ autem figurata locutio ſic exponitur, vt veræ ſententiæ conveniat, & aliis ſimilibus locis ſtabiliatur, ea benè expoſita eſt. Sed ſic exponitur à me figurata illa locutio. Vtinam, vtinam ſic contenderes, & non reijceres argumentis bonis fabulas non bonas ſemper: quibus illudere pueris potes, nobis non potes. De Auguſtini ſententia, & de ſententia Aquinatis ad eundem locum, quas recitavi, & falſo, aiunt fruſtra vrgeri adſirmas, nihil nunc dico, quando tu me ablegas ad ſcripta tua Anglicana: niſi illud tacendum non ſit, ex ſententia vtriuſq; adſirmariq;, peccatum veſtiarium non eſſe flagitioſiſſimum. Mea ſunt reliqua. Et ea (falleris) non dixi nihili eſſe, quæ tu nunquam refutaveris, ſi tibi ſententiam non pronuncias: ſed quæ aut te, aut me, aut alium morari ab operibus maioribus tantillum non debeant. Nec morabitur me ſine quæſtio hac. Itaq; nec à te literas alias de ea expecto, nec expeto. Ego cupiam à te iterum audire, quæ à te primo convicia audivi in vita? Cupiam illa? priuſquam tu cathedram iſtam, ex qua ludios laudas, occupares. Ego ludios non laudo, ſed tu cum convicio ludis genere iſtoc loquendi laudatiſſimo, & perſuaſorias Senecæ perſuaſiſſimo tibi. Ego cathedram iſtam non occupo, quam bonis adprobantibus teneo de principis optima, & humaniſſima largitate: & in qua ſic doceo, vt benignitatis ſuæ reginam ſereniſſimam, iudicij reliquos non pœniteat. Magna ego horum nomina defendo in commentatione mea de hiſtrionibus. Si enim Tobias Matthæus, ſi alij tot viri graviſſimi, & religioſiſſimi iſthæc inventutis aut exercitamenta, aut ludos adprobarunt, præfecti, & moderatores collegiorum, atq; totius Inmina Academiæ: ſi princeps ſanctiſſima, religionis ſummum præſidium, & aulici eius, viri ſpectatiſſimæ ſapientiæ præſentia ſua honeſtarunt

ludos: ludos tu appellare pestes qui vales? Hic enim de Tertulliano rectissimè, Cur liceat videre, quæ facere, flagitium est? *Et de nostris in eodem proposito; par est culpa, spectacula edere, & spectare spectacula. Neque hic me damnabit Matthæus. Neq; enim sic contaminavi nomen eius, vt putas tu, dedicatione libelli mei: neq; filium malis imbui volo, præceptionibus à lectione commentationis meæ. Ne quæso, ne te Matthæum inter & me ponas non vocatus. Tota hæc tua epistola, præter maledicta, aut his constat, quæ ad te non spectant: aut his, quæ non spectant ad me; aut, quæ non ad rem, quæ in maxibus est: aut si quid habet aliud, id vnum est, quod tu meæ commentationis verba non legisti, aut non expendisti bene. Nec enim scripsi ego, oratori necessariam histrioniam. sed poematibus: & ita argumentatus sum, Si eius, quod leve, & importunum est in oratoria, vt est actio, habetur ratio tanquam necessarij: eius etiam, quod leve, & importunum est in poetica, habenda ratio est tanquam necessarij. Hoc autem histrionia est. Ergo in poetica habenda sic est ratio histrionia. Rursus dum docui ex Alciato, eum non facere artem, qui semel, iterum quid artis facit, sic argumentor, Ars notata est edicto. Sed vna proditio non est ars. Ergo vna proditio non est notata. Alciato ego illud non tribuo: quanquam est erratum in subnotato capite, quod esse debuit* CCVII. *De Laberio plus satis. De oratoribus, & vatibus, subieci, vt mores illius populi antiquos magis ostenderem: de quibus sanè illi apud Tacitum disceptabant: & secundum quos visum etiam crimen maiestatis læsæ, si magistratus pro concione legisset vel codices (ni malè memini) eorum, quæ ad magistratus spectabant tamen. Sed & dixi, in scena fuisse eos oratores, & vates. Sed & pretij, aut præmij, spe, atq; fiducia recitationibus incubuisse, persuasum est mihi. Itaq;, tribus his conuenientibus, censura à patrijs moribus, recitatione in scena, & spe præmij, notati. Itaq; falsum tu colligis, notatos semper omnes qui etiam gratis recitarent. An sicco (quod exprobras) sicco nimis pede transi, prætoris edictum, an tu in sicco es? Vale. Rogo autem, atq; obsecro te, si ad aures tuas à me accidit nunc insolens aliquid, vt scias, ad meas etiam accidisse insolentissimum a te: & ad tanta crimina patientem esse non oportere. Et vale iterum. Londini, Idib. Iub.*

Non-

Non me continere poſſum, quin de meis libris bellicis tibi, argutiolam ducenti, quod de abuſu mali in commentationibus adnotavi, exſcribam Auguſtini vnum hoc, In nuptijs eſt bonus vſus mali, hoc eſt bonus vſus concupiſcentiæ carnis. *Nè quaſo, ne hominem tui ſtudioſiſſimum ſic tractaris peſſimè, immerito.* Vitia non ſunt, quibus rectè vti licet. *hoc Lactantius. Sic poſſimus concupiſcentia carnis. ſic mendacio, &c, Vale tertium.*

ALBERICO GENTILI, I. C. profeſſori regio, IO. RAINOLDVS S.

REGIVM eſt audire malè quum bene facias, inquit [a] rex magnus & beatos pronuntiat diſcipulos ſuos [b] Chriſtus, quum homines convicijs eos affecerint immerentes, ipſius cauſa. Quo æquiore animo, benevolentiæ erga te meæ, & veritatis eorum quæ ſcripſi, mihi conſcius, tuam, Alberice, inhumanitatem ac maledicentiam, iniquiſſimè iuſtiſſimam amiciſſimamque admonitionem vellicantes, fero. Etenim, nec grato candidovè animo munuſculum me tuum accepiſſe aſſeris: nec quicquam eſt in meis literis non longè lateque poſitum à veritate. Quorum alterius nullam certiorem habes probationem, quàm Galatæ habuerunt malevolentiæ Pauli; [c] Num inimicus factus ſum vobis, dum vera vobis loquor? alterum falsò dici, tuum de mimis alijſque multis ſilentium eſt indicio; niſi fortè dubium ſit quin ea falſi convicturus fueris, ſi quidem potuiſſes, qui, quæ non potes, conaris. Atque vt cætera, quæ confuſe carpis, ordine percurram) quod ego commemoravi me à peſtibus ſcenicorum ſpectaculiſque theatralibus noſtros dehortatum, prius quàm tu cathedram iſtam, ex qua ludios laudas, occupares; vt hinc commonefieres, tibi, qui ſententiam tuam in vulgus editam negabas ægrè ferre me oportere, quod quæſtionem de hiſtrionibus publicè tractaſſes anteà quàm ego de jis cum altero controverſarer, pari ratione ferendam ægrè non eſſe meam à ſententia tua diſſenſione, quod mihi periculoſos videri ludios docuiſſem prius quam hic tibi locus laudãdi eos foret; in eo vociferaris te à me convicia, quæ nunquam a

[a] Plutarch. vita Alexandr.
[b] Mat. 5. 11.
[c] Gal. 4. 16.

quoquam prius, audiviſſe. Quid ita? Quia cathedram iſtam (vt ais) non occupas, ſed tenes de principis humaniſſimæ & optimæ largitate. Ita, cum vocabula, tenere, & occupare, idem ſignificent, quemadmodum ex [d] Plauto, [e] Virgilio, [f] Cicerone, obſervavit [g] Nonius; atque hoc ſenſu ego (quod ſanctè affirmare poſſim) illud vſurparim: tu abſurdam mihi calumniam affingis, ac ſi dixiſſem te profeſſionis locum, non Reginæ noſtræ beneficio, ſed vi, aut fraude, aut neſcio quo modo, poſſidere. Similiter affirmas te ludios non laudare, ſed me cum convicio ludere genere iſtoc loquendi laudatiſſimo, & per ſuaſorias Senecæ perſuaſiſſimo mihi. In quo quid iſtoc loquendi genere ſignifices, fateor non intelligo: dicturus alioqui ad illud quod è Seneca vitio mihi vertis. Sed errarunt turpiter in laudationis tractatione & nomine [h] viri eruditi, ſi tu non laudas ludios: quos poëmatum perfectioni, quos oratoriæ facultati, quos & corporum morbis, & animorum vitijs medendis neceſſarios eſſe aſſeveras. Quæris, cum Præfecti collegiorum, viri graviſſimi, approbarint ludos; cum ſanctiſſima Princeps, aulicique eius, viri ſpectatiſſimi, ſua preſentia honeſtarint ludos, ludos appellare peſtes qui valeam: hic enim, vt rectiſſime Tertullianus, Cur liceat videre, quæ facere flagitium eſt? ita & de noſtris dici poſſe aſſeris, Par eſt culpa ſpectacula edere & ſpectare. Parem eſſe culpam non auſim tecum dicere. Nam [i] Tertullianus ibidem, & rectiſſimè, Cur liceat audire, quæ loqui non licet? Neque tamen arbitror æquè peccare eum qui maledico aut ſcurræ præbet aures, ac maledicum & ſcurram ipſum. Sed ego ad illorum luminum approbantium ſpectantiumve ludos iudicio, & exempla, familiari tuo dudum [k] reſpondi: vt, ſi tibi rurſum reſpondeam, actum agam; quod me facturum negavi. Tu, qui poſſis ludorum, Rivalibus noſtris (vt docui) puriorum, non actores ſolum ſed etiam autores iure improbatos pronuntiare, ipſe videris: cùm ſcias ſpectatores fuiſſe Rivalium ſanctiſſimam Principem exteroſque; & in pari culpa eos qui ſpectant talia, cum iis qui edunt, ponas. Nam quod tu Terentij ſimiliumque fabulas verbis factiſq; in honeſtis & improbis aſperſas eſſe ſcribis, ideoque earum actores iure improbas propter corruptelam & contagionem: idem ego, peſtes ſceni-

[d] Trinumm.
[e] Æneid. lib. 6.
[f] Hortenſ.
[g] De proprietat. term. cap. 4.
[h] Cic. de orat. lib. 2. & de clar. Orat. quintilia lib. 3. cap. 4. Aphtho. prog. ca. de encom.
[i] De ſpectac. cap. 17.
[k] Epiſt. 2.

scenicorum nuncupans, per metaphoram dixi. Et mihi figuratè id exprimere nefas est, quod tibi proprie enuntiare ius est?

Affirmanti tibi, non esse tanti tua scripta quæ remorari me deberent, assensi. Hic me falli ais: nec enim te dixisse ea esse nihili, quæ ego nunquam refutavero si mihi sententiam non pronuntiem; sed quæ me morari ab operibus maioribus non debeant. Quid ego aliquando refutavero aut refutaverim, iudicent alij æquiores: nec mihi ius ferendæ hac de re sententiæ assumo, nec tibi defero. Verum nihili esse tua scripta non dixi: tantum repetii tuum argumentum, Neque enim tanti sunt; ac ex eo intuli, nihil esse (an inde emersittuum nihili?) quam obrem ab opere, quod eram aggressurus, me distinerent tua scripta. De familia liberata, inquit [l] Cicero ad Terentiam, nihil est quod te moveat, Non dicit familiam liberatam esse nihili: sed nihil esse cur res ea moveat Terentiam; neque enim erat tanti. Nihil esse cur iuris interpres historias legat cognoscatve, [m] te ipsum scribere meministi. An quod sentires eas esse nihili? Absit. Nam & [n] sacras divinasque historias eo nomine te compleeti indicas. Cæterum, nihil esse cur iuriusconsultis in illis tempus conterat, significatum voluisti. Porrò, quod adieci te Theophrasti exemplo histrioniam oratori necessariam esse concludere, ais me tuæ commentationis verba non legisse, aut non expendisse bene: nec enim te scripsisse oratori necessariã histrioniam, sed Poëmatibus. Itane verò? Poëmatibus tantum, non item oratori? Cur igitur, postquam dixeras posse mulieris partes à viro, servià libero, ebrij à sobrio, impuri ab honesto, bellux ab homine, agi aliquãtisper vtilitatis & ioci causa, hæc verba subtexuisti. Oratori sunt omnes illæ personæ induendæ sæpius, nec cum dedecore, quia necessariò: [o] referunt Theophrastum & docentem in scholis gestu omnia dicta comitari solitum, etiam quum de ebrio, similiue oratio incidisset? Cur, quod de oratore nominatim dicis, non doces quemadmodũ ad poëmata referri accommodarique volueris, & non ad oratorem? Cur omnem mentionem exempli Theophrasti, qui oratorio genere sermonis vsus est, non poëtico, in reprehensione dicti mei supprimis? Atque (si permittis vt hoc à te quæram more censorum) Ex animi tui sententia: nonne quum Athenæus in eius exem-

[l] Epi. ad fam. lib 4. ep 4.

[m] De jur. interp. dialo. 5.

[n] Hebræorum, ex ore Dei.

[o] Athenæ. lib. 1

exemplo, non ebrij qui vino, sed [m] heluonis & gulosi qui cibo se ingurgitat, mentionem faciat; tu, mutata voce, nominasti ebrium, vt, qui ebriorum egerunt partes in Rivalibus, nihil aliud fecisse quam fecit Theophrastus, & oratores facere convenit viderentur?

Ad illud quod asserui, non solum fidei sed etiam vitæ magistram esse theologiam; quo magis me optare, vt, qui theologorum autoritate in rebus religionis te valde dixeris moveri, ne adiunxisses, in rebus morum non valde: respondes theologiam magistram esse vitæ, sed non omnis vitæ, communes esse sacros libros, & in his, quæ spectant ad secundam tabulam, vestros magis quam nostros; vt autoritati theologorum multum vos tribuere hic, non sit necesse; meque iubes contrarium docere, si possim. Sane, si non possem: tu tamen satis causæ, cur mihi sententia tua displiceret, fuisse docuisses. Nam si theologiam magistram vitæ iudicas, licet non omnis vitæ: debeas ergo multum theologorũ autoritati in rebus morum tribuere, tametsi non in rebus morum quibuscunque. Verum, vniversæ vitæ magistram esse theologiam, tum docui, quum asserui, si animadvertisses: notatis ad marginem [n] duobus Scripturæ locis. Quorũ ex priore id confirmant omnes ecclesiæ Christianæ: quum in [o] cathechismo theologis committunt explicationem totius decalogi, non primæ solum tabulæ; neque sensum à iurisconsultis peti iubent. Ex posteriore, scriptor tui ordinis, Chassanæus, à [p] te laudatus: quum, [q] distinguens alias cunctas scientias, in jisque vestram, à nostra, Theologia (inquit) inserit virtutes, docet facienda, & omnia ad salutem pertinentia. 2. ad Timotheum. Quin & [r] ipse, quum Baldum, Bartolum, Accursium, commentarijs jus vniversum illustrasse perhibes, doces nullam partem sacrorum librorũ (quid enim in Scripturas Baldus, cæterique;) vestri iuris esse. Quid; Quum contendis [s] nullam literarũ Græcarum peritiam in iurisconsulto requiri; [t] ex dialectica posse plurimum detrimenti & incommodi ad vos venire, nihil boni; [u] ne historias quidem quicquam conferre: nonne sacros libros relinquis nobis integros, ad quorum cognitionem [x] Hebræa quoque lingua, non modo Græca, opus esse; ac [y] historiam & [z] dialecticam plurimum adiuvare, declarat Augustinus? Mihi verò

m Sic Græcam Athenæi vocem, ὀψοφάγον, expressit Dalechampius: Natalis Comes gulonem reddidit.

n Exod. 20. 2. 2 Tim. 3. 6.
o Eccl. refor. omn. immò & Pont.
p De jur. bell. comment. 3.
q Chassa. catalog. glor. mund. part. 10. cons. 13.
r De jur. inter. dialog. 6.
s Dialog. 3.
t Dialog. 4.
u Dialog. 5.
x Aug. de doct. Christ. lib. 2. cap. 11.
y cap. 8.
z cap. 31.

verò videris hoc animo fuisse, quando, solis libris prudentiæ civilis, iurisconsultos [a] hortatus vt vacarent; id [b] te de solis Iustinianeis libris,& horum interpretibus, Accursianis & Alciateis intelligere demonstrasti. Teque existimo, cùm [c] ius canonicum Canonistis, vt suam messem assignaris; ac eos à Legistis, à Theologis autem vtrosque distinxeris: omnino, sicut illis totum corpus iuris, alteris ciuiles, alteris canonici; ita nobis totum corpus Bibliorum attribuendum censuisse. Quid si iam in aliam sententiam transiisti,& in his quæ pertinent ad secundam tabulam Scripturas non tam nostras esse putas quàm vestras: ostende mihi, quæso, vbi eius tabulæ lex vltima, [d] Non concupisces, à iurisconsultis pertractetur; vt, vtræ ecclesiæ, reformatæ, ant Pontificiæ, saniorem tradant de concupiscentia doctrinam, ex vestris, ad quos huius rei disquisitio magis quam ad nostros pertinet, intelligam.

[a] Dialog 1.
[b] Dialog. 2. 3. & sequent.
[c] Dialog. 1.
[d] Exo. 20. 17. Rom. 7. 7.

Quia non sine magna multorum injuria falsò affirmaras, nec medicos, nec alios vllos à mendacio officioso refuge; vt mihi videreris monẽdus ne memoriam Neronis renovares, qui alios ex se æstimans persuasissimum habuit pudicum esse neminem: impuro Principi te conferri, licet iustè, si injustè homines traducas, quod à te factum res docebit, veruntamen indignaris; meque negas intelligere quid sit officiosum mendacium; quippe qui [e] Petri illud recensuerim in officiosis, quod contra omne officium fidei & religionis fuit. Equidem ignorantiam hac in re meam tantam esse fateor, vt nè an sit quidem officiosum vllum mendacium cognoscam, immò nec esse credam: ne tu me mireris quid si id nescire. Sed, nè magni criminis loco mihi exprobres hanc imperitiam, scito Seneeam alioſque veterum romanorum pari insciti, in re maiori, laborasse. Nam, [f] quum Aterius (libertinum reum defendens, cui objiciebatur quod patroni cœcubinus fuisset, dixisset, Impudicitia in ingenuo crimẽ est, in servo necessitas, in liberto officiũ: res in jocos abiit, Non facis mihi officium; & multum ille & hic in officijs versatur; ex eo impudici & obscæni (inquit Seneeea) aliquandiu officiosi vocitati sunt. Ecce tibi distinctio impudicitiæ in criminosam, necessariam, & officiosam: cujus pars vltima quid esset, ignorarunt isti; immò nec esse vllam officiosam impudi-

[e] Mat. 26 7.
[f] Sen. controv. lib. 4. Procem.

citiam rati sunt. Itidem mendacium, nescio * quis primus, † quod fit nocumenti causa, pernitiosum; quod ludi, jocosum; quod autem vtilitatis, officiosum vocavit. Ego verò, qui officium esse id quod fieri debeat sum edoctus, vnde nomen ipsum ab efficiendo ductum [h] sunt qui notent nullum mendacium officiosum puto: quia [i] nullum mendacium est ex veritate, vt ait [k] Deus mentiri nescius; & [l] deposito mendacio veritatem quisque jubemur loqui proximo suo; [m] mendaciumque peccatum esse, etiam quum redundat in Dei gloriam, edocemur. Sed vt tu mendacium vtile commodumque officiosum nominasti, in illa conclusione, [n] Si ad vtilitatem sermo datus est, vt censet [o] Aristoteles; quæso, num improbemus mendacium officiosum? ita illud Petri, qui vtilitatis, non joci, aut nocumenti, causa est mentitus, in officiosis recensui: vt & [p] periurium eius (ex tua ratione) officiosum dixerim, quia sermo datus est ad vtilitatem, vt censet Aristoteles; &, iusiurandum rei servandæ, non perdendæ, conditum est, inquit [q] Plautus. At Petri mendaciũ contra omne officium fidei & religionis fuit. Scio. Et omne mendacium (sicut docui) est contra aliquod officium: nullum igitur officiosum. At officij nostri est vt iuvemus alios, dices fortasse, itaque officiosum mendaciũ te vocare quod hoc officium præstet. Esto. Sed ita & incestum Antiochi officiosum appellaveris. Nam officij quoque nostri est vt nostrã ipsorum vitam tueamur. Quare, licet scirem Petri mendacium pernicio sum, & esse, & haberi à tractatoribus officiosi mendacij: tamen quia definiunt mendacium officiosum, quod est pro salute & commodo alicuius; aut, quod ordinatur ad aliquod bonum vtile; quo intenditur iuvamentum alterius, vt ait [r] Thomas, vel remotio nocumenti; pernicio sum autem, quod fit ex malignitate; aut, quo nocumentum alterius intenditur; tu me doceas vilem quemadmodu [s] sibi constent, aut cur debuerim secus de Petro sentire ac scripsi. Neque enim fecit ex malignitate, aut nocumentum alterius (nam cuius tandem?) intendit: sed, timore lapsus, vtilitatem, commodum, salutem spectavit suam; & intendit nocumenti, periculi nempè imminentis si ex Christi discipulis esse agnosceretur, remotionem ac depulsionem. Jam iniuriose & falsò tibi excidisse, nullos improbare officio-

*Sicut ipse putat, officiosi mendacij Aug. de mendac. cap. 8.
g Bona ventu. Scot. &c. Schola. in 3. Sentent. dist. 38. Thom. Aquin 2a 2æ quæst. 110. art. 2.
h Donatus, Paulus apud Festum.
i 1 Ioh. 2, 21.
k Tit. 1. 2.
l Eph. 4. 25.
m Rom. 3. 7.
n De jure bell. comment. 3.
o Lib. 1. Politicor. cap. 2.
p Mat. 27. 74.
q Rudens.
r 2a 2æ quæst. 100. art. 2.

ficiosum mendacium, tua ipsius confessio testis est. Etenim theologos, quorum, in quæstione de iure divino, vnius autoritatem pluris æstimare, quam centum iuris humani peritorum [o] debes; theologos, & quidem eos theologos, quorum [p] hunc maximum appellas, [q] illum summum, [r] alios præstantes esse non negabis; theologos pleroſque omnes, tametsi solos, mecum facere concedis. Immò hoc quoque falsò & iniuriosè, quod solos theologos; testantur epistolæ tuæ, ad quas me amandas. Quippe iustum Lipsium, & Tassum, mecum esse, ibi agnoscis. Aristotelem negas de nostro loqui mendacio, quum [s] ait mendacium per se malum esse & vituperabile, sed de arroganti, vano, versuto, pravo, & id genus, alijs, Atqui de mendacio in genere eum loqui, & propterea de nostro, tum ex jis apparet quæ de viro bono & veritatis amante subjicit: tum ex eo ipso quod ait, per se malum; vt te docere potest [t] is quem summũ [u] nominas philosopho theologum. Ciceronis dicto, [x] cadit in virum bonum mentiri emolumenti sui causa? nihil minus: opponis alia eius tanquam repugnantia, quæ minime repugnant, vt [y] de Socrate simulatore, dissimulatore Q. Maximo. Nam Socratis ironea, quemad modum ab [z] eo tractatur in faceti s, & [a] Quintilianus docet in figuris, non fuit mendax sermo, sed [b] figurate verax. Quinti autem maximi dissimulatio celantis erat, & tacentis, vt Cicero exponit: quam nos laudandam ducimus Canonici iuris professores ex me scisciteris vtrum nominem, an rideam: qui. Iacobum à mendacio immunem divinæ obtentu concessionis pronuntiatũ, in titulo de divortiis legirem, Ego sanè seriò illos nominavi: à [d] quibus tradi video magno consensu, ne pro vita quidem hominis servanda mentiri fas esse. Tu per iocum forsitan id de Iacobo citas è titulo de divortiis: nisi furtum, homicidium, adulterium officiosum, æquè ac mendacium, jis probari velis. Namque, vt Iacob [c] illic, à mendacio: sic Israelitæ, à furto; Sampson, ab homicidio; Patriarchæ, & alij viri justi, ab adulterio excusari dicuntur. Plures autores eiusdem sententiæ contra te producere magis procliue est quàm necessarium. Quot enim censes extitisse similes illius apud [f] Iuvenalem, qui mendacium, quod videri posset officiosissimum, inhonestum & à viri boni officio alienum

o Ad peritos in arte à nostris illis legum conditoribus ablegamur. De jur. inter. dialog. 1.
p Petrum Martyrem.
q Thomam Aquinatem.
r Iustinum Mart. Ambrosium, Augustinum, Calvinum Zanchium, &c.
s Ethicor. lib. 4. cap. 7.
t Thomas Aquinas, 22 æ q. 110, art. 3.
u De iur. inter. dialog 3.
x De off. lib. 3.
y De off. lib. 1.
z De orat. li. 2.
a lib. 9. cap. 2.
b Mar. 7. 9.
c Iol. 8. 3.
d Gloss. & interp. ad c. Super eo. extra. de vsuris c. neq; quis arbitretur 22. q. 2.
e Extra. de divort. c. gaudemus.

num reputans, in hæc erumpit verba: Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio: librum, Si malus est: nequeo laudare, & poscere. Atque haud scio an medicorum exempla, melancholicos scilicet mendaciis curantium, æquè falsò [g] cites in tuam sententiã, ac Q. Maximi. Certè curationes tales quales iudicas, à [h] magno medico notatæ, in factis positæ. non indictis carent signorum abusu: quem [i] nos in mendacio, vti scis, damnamus. Verùm: cùm habeas poëtas, philosophos, Canonistas, theologos, ac plerosque horum te ipso cõfitente, tibi repugnantes: ignosce mihi si Neronis cote ad maiorem modestiam & cautionem te acuere volui; ne errati huius toties admonitus, rursum non modo medicos, sed etiam alios omnes, mendacij, [k] rei turpissimæ, patrocinio inquinares.

g De jure bell. comment. 2.
h Alex Trall. lib. 1. cap. vlt. de plumbeo pileo, & serpente.
i Petr. Mart. in 1 Sam. 21. 2 Sam. 15.
k Comment. ad l. 3. cap de prof. & med.

Quod eo magis opus fuisse vt facerem jam sentio & cerno, qui [l], quæ mihi maxime omnium capitalis sententia videbatur, nempe, abusum malorum non esse malum, sed bonum: eam tu significas te in libris bellicis denuo defensurum; & ita defensurum, vt ab argutiolæ, quam dixi, opprobrio distinctionem tuam vindices Augustini & Lactantij autoritate. Quid igitur? An argumentum meum, quo stuprum, adulterium, incestum, & quodvis facinus ac flagitium ea argutiola defendi posse docui, Augustini etiam atque Lactantij autoritate profligabis? Omnino, tanquam aliquid tale cogitares, postquam ex eorum altero notasses. bonum in nuptijs esse vsum mali concupiscentiæ carnis; ex altero, vitia non esse quibus rectè vti licet: Sic, inquis, vti possumus concupiscentia carnis; sic mendacio; &c. Vbi, si particula ista &c. non referatur ad incestum, & cætera mala à me commemorata; quod (opinor) abominabere; quanquam quæ ad alia referatur, non video; sed si ad ea non referatur: argumentum igitur meum ab exemplo Antiochi & novercæ, ita solidum & firmum, vt ne attingere quidem illud ausus sis, satis adhuc habet ad mei dicti veritatem de vanitate argutiolæ tuæ comprobandum. Veruntamen, vt idem Augustini quoque, testis à te ipso & pro te citati, autoritate corroborati scias: lege doctissimam gravissimamque [l] eius disputationem, qua tanquam ex professo tuam de malorum abusu) quem vocas) sententiam refellans, quum ex ea consequens esse demonstrasset,

l Contra mendacium, cap. 7.

straſſet, nec falſum teſtimonium, nec furtum, nec adulterium, nec vllum malum opus malum fore, ſed bonum, ſi bona intentione, bono fine, perpetretur; Quis iſta dicat, inquit, niſi qui res humanas omneſq; conatur mores legeſq; ſubvertere? Clariſſimum documentũ quàm injurioſè, ne quid dicam grauius, & Patrum teſtimonia & Scripturas tractes. Nam [m] Auguſtinus ait eos concupiſcentiæ malo bene vti qui licitè procreandis liberis operam dant, [n] vt pede vitiato rectè quis vtitur quum ad aliquod bonum claudicando pervenit: nec propter claudicationis malum mala eſt illa perventio, nec propter illius perventionis bonum bona eſt claudicatio. Tu bonum eſſe mali vſum ſic contendis, vt malum mendacij, ceu claudicationis malum eſſe neges, quum eo quis ad bonum pervenit: & eum, cui Deus pedes dedit integros, ſe mutilare jubes, vt aliquò accedat quò nulli niſi claudo fortaſſe datur aditus. [o] Lactantius, ad errorem quorundam minuendum qui affectus vitia eſſe cõcedunt, ſed ea mediocriter temperant: aſſignandi, inquit, fuerunt affectus certis temporibus, & rebus, & locis: ne vitia ſint quibus rectè vti licet. Tu vocabulum ejus, rectè, ad omnes circumſtantias relatum, de quibus [p] Ariſtoteles quum diſtinguit juſta ab ijs quæ juſtè fiunt, & virtutis naturam aperit, ad vnicam reſtringis: & mendacia in rectum finem deſtinata, (quo modo poſſunt perjuria, ſacrilegia, blaſphemiæ,) rectè fieri dicis, eoq; non eſſe vitia. [q] Apoſtolus ait non facienda mala vt eveniant bona: concedens poſſe bona intentione fieri quæ tamen mala ſint, vt [r] Saul exemplo ſuo docuit. Tu mala eſſe negas quæ fiunt vt eveniant bona: eum enim eſſe abuſum malorum; & abuſum malorum malum non eſſe, ad bonum. Ac lectorem moneſte in tota [ſ] illa diſputatione non dicere vllibi, mala facienda, vt bona adveniant: in qua tamen laudas iſtam poëtæ antiqui ſententiam, Quum vitia proſunt, peccat qui rectè facit.

[m] De nupt. & concupiſ. lib. 1. cap. 8. & lib. 2. cap 21.
[n] Lib. 1. cap. 7
[o] Divin. inſtit. lib. 6. cap. 16.
[p] Ethicor. lib. 2. cap. 4. & 6.
[q] Rom. 3 8.
[r] 1. Sam. 15. 15
[ſ] De jure bell. comment. 2.

Hæc ſi fundamenta non ſint nequitiæ & impietatis; ſi te, quem fidei cauſa exulare ferunt, atq; , vt reſpondes, verè ferunt, deceant; ſi eccleſiæ lumini ritè dedicentur, vt illius quaſi luce lucentia acceptiora ſint in vulgus: deniq; ſi nihil contineant veneni, quin pueris haurienda propinari poſſint: errârim ego qui imme-

immeritò, te, ne talibus, talia, ſub talis viri nomine deinceps commendes & excudas typis in Academia noſtra, rogandum mihi cenſui. [t] Nil intra eſt oleam, nil extra eſt in nuce duri. Sed noli aſſerere me calumniari in eo quod pueros à te doceri dixi vt de rebus morum quid theologi ſentiant non magnopere curent. Immò verò, inquis, de me, de juriſconſulto ſcripſi, & re politica. De te? de juriſconſulto? Atqui, & Petrus, quum [u] ſubduxit ſeſe ac ſeparavit à gentibus, reſpondere potuit ſe reſpectu ſui, Iudæi, id feciſſe: cui tamen Paulus dixit, Cur Gentes cogis Iudaizare? quòd ijs exemplo ſuo hac in re præiret; vt tu, nec ſolùm exemplo, ſed etiam verbo, pueris. De politica autem re, quid tibi vis? aut qui hoc auſus dicere? Cùm [x] verba tua typis excuſa ſic habeant; Ego vt theologorum autoritate in re religionis valde moveor, ita in re morali, aut politica non valde. Adeóne mei reprehendendi æſtu te tranſverſum abripi, vt in eo mihi notam calumniæ, in quo calumniaris ipſe, inuras?

t Horat. epiſt. lib. 2. ep. 1.

u Gal. 2. 12.

x Comment. ad l. 3 de prof. med pag. 60.

Locum ſcripturæ de veſte viri à fœmina, fœminæ à viro non induenda, quem theologi omnes interpretantur propriè, figuratè à te exponi mirabar eo magis: quod theologorum autoritate in rebus religionis te valde moveri dixeras; & ſcripturarum interpretatio res eſt religionis. Hic tu ſcripturarum interpretationem omnem, aut omnium, rem religionis eſſe inficiaris. Omnem, quorſum addis? Nam ne legum quidem interpretatio omnis res eſt juriſprudentiæ: ſed ea, cujus gratia, [y] ſcribis Canoniſtas, majorum noſtrorum tempore, ad Legiſtas remiſiſſe auditores ſuos, ſi incideret argumentum ex legibus componendum. Et talis eſt quam nos quærimus: non qualem adhibeant qui à te ridentur, quòd nunc, benigniori ſcilicet cœlo nati, non modò vtriuſq; juris doctores exiſtunt, ſed & Medicinæ periti, & Theologiæ. Quum autem is inficias Scripturarum omnium interpretationem rem eſſe religionis, & ad facultatem theologicam ſpectare: perinde mihi loqui videris, aeſi quis diceret, non omnes leges noſtras & totum ius civile ab Accurſianis aut Alceiateis interpretibus exponi oportere. Sed, vt hoc abſurdum tibi viſum iri dialogi tui docent: ita & illud debuit. Quod, ſi mihi non credis, crede [z] Petro Martyri, quem theologorum maximum [a] appellas: & ab [b] eo diſce facultatem noſtram à veſtra

y De iur. inter. dialog. 1.

z Comment. in 1. epiſt. ad cor præfat.

a De jure bell. comment. 1.

b Orat. ad Acad. Argenti. de ſtudio theolog.

ſtra diſtinguere. Ac vide quàm ſcienter huic ſcripturę loco, cujus exponendi jus, abjudicatum nobis, tibi vindicas, ſenſum figuratum & improprium affingas. [c] Ne eſto inſtrumentum virile ſuper fœminam, inquit Moſes, neq; induito vir veſtem fœminæ: nam abominationi eſt Iehovæ Deo tuo quiſquis facit iſta. Hac lege, Ne induito vir veſtem fœminæ, tu, per neſcio quam figuram orationis, vis nefarium illud ſcelus denotari, quod Moſes [d] alibi verbis propriè ſumptis damnans abominationem vocavit: &, ſicut in Levitico, verbo [e] retectionis quaſi veſtimentorum ſignificantur talia flagitia; ita in lege hac, ſimili loquendi modo, par crimen proponi. Satis id quidem duriter, vt idem planè ſonet induere veſtem, ac retegere: & hoccine eſt quod ais expoſitionem tuam ſimilibus locis ſtabiliri? Verùm exponendam ita eſſe legem confirmas hunc in modum. Vbi ſignificatio propria non accipitur, ibi figurata fuerit, vel aliter impropria. At in lege illa Dei non accipitur propria ſignificatio. Quid ita? Quoniam inquis, Vbi abominatio dicitur in ſcripturis, ibi peccatum ſignificatur, quod facilè ſuperet flagitia pleraque omnia. Sed hoc veſtimentorum non eſt tale. Ergo vbi dicitur abominatio, ibi hoc peccatum non ſignificatur. Ac non eſſe tale hoc veſtimentorum, affirmari ais ex ſententia [f] Auguſtini. Quem, ſi conſideratius animum attendiſſes ad inexcuſabiles in quas ait decidi poſſe turpitudines hac lege negligenda: vidiſſes minus cauſæ ſubeſſe, quàm putabas, cur pro te citares. Sed vnde tandem colligis, vbicunq; , id enim ſonat tuum vbi, aut nihil agis; vbicunque igitur abominatio in ſcripturis dicitur, ibi ſignificari peccatum quod facilè flagitia pleraq; omnia ſuperet? Nam [g] abominationi Iehovæ eſſe dicitur argentum & aurum, de quo idòla facta ſint: & quicunq; infert illum in domum ſuam, rem inferre dicitur abominabilem. [h] Abominationi Iehovæ eſſe dicitur bovis aut pecudis illum habentis vitium immolatio. De quibus, ſi volueris tibi conſtare, & ſententiam ei quam de [i] noſtra lege * tuliſti, ferre ſimilem, rogabis mirabundus: Quod tantum ſcelus hic eſt, vt ſit abominatio, ſi, cui deſunt opes, aliquid è Baalis auro aut argento in vſum ſuum accipiat? ſi, qui meliorem victimam non habet claudam, aut excam Deo offerat? Quod ſi prudentius & religioſius

[c] Deut. 22. 5.
[d] Lev. 18 22.
[e] Ver. 6. 7. &c.
[f] Soliloq. lib. 2. cap. 16.
[g] Deut. 7. 25.
[h] Deut. 17. 1.
[i] Deut 22. 5.
* Quod tantũ ſcelus hic eſt, vt ſit abominatio?

religiosius dices hæc meritò pro flagitiosissimis habita fuisse, quòd insignis sceleris, id est, impietatis, aut occasiones erant, aut indicia: idem tibi puta responsum de muliebri vestitu in viro, abominandi sceleris illecebra & fomite, vt è Neronis Sporo & Heliogabalo [k] amicum tuum monui. Relinquitur idcirco sensum legis proprium, non figuratum esse: vt omnes theologi, non vt tu exponis. Quod tu quoq; ipsius aliud agentis dicto comprobatur, dum ais, qui sensus bonarum aliarum legum est prohibentium hunc vsum vestium, eundem verisimiliter esse & legis Dei. Nam aliæ bonæ leges [l] Canonicæ. [m] Civilesq;, à teipso notatæ, loquuntur de vestitu non figuratè sed propriè, vt scis & confiteris.

k Epist. 1.

l C. 9. dist. 30.
m L. 23 D. de aur. & arg. leg.
n Sext. Synod. in Trul. can. 62.
o Synod. Gan. can. 13. Gratian. c. 6. dist. 30.
p Epist. 1. & 2. ad Doct. Gag.
q Soliloq. lib. 2. cap. 16.
r Orat ad Græc.
s Ad l. ul. Pau. recept. sentent. lib. 3. tit. 6
t Ad l. 23. D. de aur. & arg. leg.
u Tacit. anna. lib. 3.
x Lib 3. parag. 18. D. de acquir. vel amit. possess.
y Mat. 5. 28.
z Antiquit. Iud. lib. 12. cap. 13.
a In. Ps. 66. 18.
b Mat. 5. 20.

Legem autem illam Dei nihil facere adversus histrioniam. quod fidentius æquo à te dictum censui, conaris astruere duobus argumentis. Quorum alterum superiore nixum fundamento, vitiosè adijcit, sensum aliarum bonarum legum nihil facere contra histrioniam; ergo neque bonæ illius legis Dei. Nam primò lex canonica, à [n] multò ampliore synodo sancita, quàm [o] quæ à te notatur, vetat in ludicris eum vsum vestium, vt [p] alibi declaravi. Civile verò jure idem interdictum existimasse videtur [q] Augustinus, ad histriones accommodans quod jure infames & intestabiles haberi, qui muliebri habitu se ostentant, dixerat. Atque adeò [r] Tatiani verba reprehendentis vestem muliebrem in scenicis actoribus, vt indignam viro, [s] Cujacius arbitratus est cum vestrorum jurisconsultorum sensu congruere, & post Cujacium [t] Gothofredus. Deinde, etiamsi aliæ bonæ leges diuturniorem & graviorem abusum tantummodò vetarent, quem [u] ne lege quidem coerceri voluit Tiberius Imperator: tamen lege Dei, multo meliore, notari possent & coarcui, qui levius, quomodocunq;, & quantulocunque tempet[illegible], in ea re delinquerent. Nam [x] aliæ bonæ leges negant furtum animo posse committi, sine contrectatione: [y] lex Dei vel affectu solo flagitia perpetrari asserit. Itaque errarunt [z] Iosephus & [a] David Kimhi, post [b] Scribas & Pharisæos, qui malos animi motus & cogitationes peccata non putarunt, nisi in opus exeant: quod de legibus hominum, non Dei, si dixissent, nequaquam lapsi essent, Ac ipse verisimiliter tantùm, non certò

certò eundem legis Dei atque aliarum ſenſum eſſe ais. Quamobrem adhuc ſalva eſt aſſertio mea, conſultius te facturum fuiſſe, ſi modeſtius, de re quam opinaris, non ſcis, pronuntiaſſes. At altero argumento iugulaſti hominem. Nam quæ in hiſtrionia (inquis) vitari peccata negotio nullo ſæpe ſolent, & poſſunt ſemper: ea nihil contra hiſtrioniam faciunt. Sed peccatum illud, ſi quod eſt, promiſcui veſtimentorum vſus, vitari ſæpe ſolet, & ſemper poteſt. Ergo. Quid ergo? Cur reliquum non attexis, Ergo nihil facit lex illa Dei adverſus hiſtrioniam? Hoc enim erat concludendum. Ac vtinam, quod aſſumis vetari ſæpe ſolere promiſcuum vſum veſtium, ejus rei teſtis fuiſſet noſtra ſcena: viamq; meliorem, qua vitari ſemper poſſit, oſtendiſſes, quàm mimas & ſcenicas inter hiſtriones introducendo: quod dedecus fœminei pudoris ac verecundiæ pejus eſſet pænè remedium ipſo malo. Sed cujuſmodi ſyllogiſmo cauſam tuam fulcias, agnoſce ex conſimili, ad aliam Dei legem, [c] ne quis liberos ſuos idolis ſacrificet, Quæ in idolatria vitari peccata negotio nullo ſæpe ſolent, & poſſunt ſemper: ea nihil faciunt contra idololatriam. Sed peccatum illud comburendorum filiorum & filiarum, vitari ſæpè ſolet, & ſemper poteſt. Ergo nihil facit lex illa Dei adverſus idololatriam. Propoſitio germana eſt & gemina tuæ: non lac ſimilius lacti, Aſſumptio, luce clarior è varia Popiſtarum idololatria. Concluſio tamen falſa videtur omnibus theologis: quorum hac in cauſa, ad primam legis tabulam ſpectante, autoritas, per [d] Prophetas ſaltem, aſſenſum tuum impetrabit. Quapropter, cùm ex veris nil niſi verum conſequatur, reſtat falſam eſſe propoſitionẽ: & poſſe peccatum in idololatriam hanc aut illam cadere, quod in omne tamen idololatriæ genus non cadat. Ego quidem certè hoc judicio fui, quum ob latriam imaginibus Chriſti & crucis delatam, Papiſtas arguere idololatriæ. Nam ipſi ſæpe ſolent idololatriam committere, & ſemper poſſunt, abſque imaginum cultu. Et tu, qui hiſtrione mimas habere & ſcenicas ſcripſiſti, videris aliquatenus idem ſenſiſſe. Cur enim non æque putemus hiſtrioniam, etſi non omnem hiſtrioniam, perſtrictam à [e] Tertulliano mimas notante: ac tu aſſeruiſti hiſtriones mimas habere & ſcenicas, etſi non omnes hiſtriones habeant? Sed quia jam hoc

[c] Deut. 12. 31.

[d] Rev. 23. 10 Pſal. 106. 37. Ier. 19. 5.

[e] De ſpect. cap. 17.

tibi discrimen ita displicet, vt me confidentissimè reprehendere, quæ non capio, propterea affirmes: docebis nos fortasse exemplum [f] Ezekiæ, serpentem æneum confringentis quòd filij Israelis incensum ei adolerent, nihil facere contra Pontificiorum; [g] qui incensum adolent rebus similibus, idololatriam; quoniam est quædam idololatria, puta, liberos suos idolis immolantium, quæ hoc peccato vacet. Quin & [h] Ieremiam, istud Iudæorum peccatum in Baale colendo increpantem, nihil adversus idololatriam eorum dixisse: quoniam Papistæ, [i] invocantes ligneam crucem vt Deum, & [k] sacramento cultum latriæ exhibentes, committunt idololatriam, nec tamen suos cremant liberos. An quæstuariorum item histrionum, quorum contagio & lues apud nos nuper est grassata, negabis actiones histrioniæ nomine traduci oportere quoniam exerceri potest histrionia, vt [l] tandem à Roscio, sine quæstu? Luculenter verò probasti scholasticos, à quibus apud nos fabulæ aguntur, nullam labem contrahere. tametsi contra legem muliebribus vestiantur, vt loquitur [m] Tertullianus: quoniam ostendisti, posse fœminarum partes à mimis, sceniciſq; fœminis, sine viris, agi. Perinde quasi dixisses nullam labem contrahi ab [n] immorantibus apud vinum, nec ijs [o] ebrietatem meritò exprobrari; quoniam esse potest [p] ebrietas sine vino. Arq; hoc modo rationem illam, quam Tertullianus obtrudere videtur pro potentissima, nihili esse demonstrasti.

f 2 Reg. 18. 4.
g Missal Rom. à Pio Quint. reformat. tit. de ritib. celeb. Miss.
h Ier. 19. 5.
i Brevia. Rom. in sessis inve. & exalt. S. Crucis.
k Concil. Trident. Sess 13. cap. 5.
l Cic orat. pro Q. Ros. com.
m De spect. cap. 23.
n Prov 23. 30.
o Ioel 1. 5.
p Esa 28. 7. & 29. 9.

Porrò, minus nihilo esse quicquid aliud adversus histrioniã afferunt theologi, quod mihi minus item modestè visus es asserere, tu contra rursum asseris: & demonstras etiam, opinor; sed quemadmodum? Pudet me, inquis, earum rationum quas Tertullianus affert adversus cothurnos tragicos & fictas scenicorum personas. Age.

Sint [q] ejus rationes leves contra histrionicum istum ornatum: rem adeò putidã & insulsam, vt nullas rationes ad eam explodendam desiderarint nostri, sed sua sponte rejecerint. Etenim cothurnis (cujusmodicunque demum id genus fuit calceorũ) efferebãtur tragœdi quo altiores apparerent; & fictis ad eorum, quos agebant, speciem personis tegebãtur: vt [r] Sarmenti scurræ jocus in Messium docet; quem immani corporis proceritate

q De spect. cap. 23.
r Horat. satyr. lib. 1. sat. 5.

&

& fœda cicatrice in facie deformem rogabat Sarmentus vt Polyphemum ageret; Nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis. E nostris autem nemo in scenam cothurnatus & larvatus prodit. Quid igitur? An quia te pudet rationem quas Tertullianus affert adversus ineptias histrionicas, quarum tragœdos & scenicos nostros pudet: ideirco minus nihilo est quicquid aliud adversus histrioniam Tertullianus affert? Ac, vt Tertullianus, vnus è multis, hallucinatus sit: idcirco minus nihilo est quicquid aliud adversus histrioniam asserunt theologi? Quanto te magis pudêre debuit conviciorum, quæ in me effundis; quia, vt modestiam in pronuntiando majorem adhiberes, præsertim quum de rebus religionis agis: amicè te admonui? Sed præclarè [f] Cato: Ne simul pudere, quod nō oportet, cæperit; quod oportet, non pudebit. Me namq; ex Papistico spiritu à librorum sacrorum tractatione te arcere ais: & hæc eis annos istos septuaginta, quod Erastus ait similibus mei, tentare: & imperiosè cum eo sic agere, qui Papæ imperium contempsit, & exulare patria potuit, & vniverso regno Papali: atque adeò, etiamsi in his à te vincar, objurgare tamen te pro pietate: denique argumentis uti eiusmodi, quibus illudere pueris possim, vobis non possim. Bene factum, quod teipsum longè à Papismo abesse profiteris. Nam ego multo minus te arceo à sacrorum librorum tractatione, quàm tu jurisconsultum, cui [t] præcipis, vt nihil nisi ex Theologi præscripto enuntiet de re Theologica; & solis prudentiæ civilis libris vacet, reliquis omnibus valedicat. [x] Erastus, notans quosdam quos ait petivisse vt alij professores juberentur à Theologorum schola abstinere: Si hoc fuisset, inquit, ante sexaginta annos petitum, tolerabile videri poterat. Ego, ex animo tibi exoptans vt scholam Theologorum magis frequentes, adhortor tantum vt memineris, quod ante mille annos [x] Gregorius Nazianzenus observandum tradidit, idque ex [y] Apostolo, non omnia Christi membra ijsdem facultatibus, & donis esse prædita. Imperiosè autem quid à me factum? Nili vt [z] arguere eum omni imperio ministros Dei decet. Neque putaram ideirco non licere mihi te arguere, quod in nonnullis rebus me anteas. Nam David item præstitit Nathani, Petrus Paulo: [a] Davidem tamen Nathan, & [b] Petrum Paulus reprehendit

[f] Liv. lib. 34.

[t] De iur. interp. dialog. 1.

[x] De excommun. præf. ad lect.

[x] Orat. 26. de ord. confer. in disputat.

[y] 1. Cor. 12. 29

[z] 2. Tim. 2. 15.

[a] 2 Sam. 12. 7.

[b] Gal. 2. 11.

hendit. Objurgandi verbum haud scio an asperius sit, quàm mea meruit admonitio. Quanquam objurgandos etiam amicos, non monendos solùm, autor est [c] Cicero: & ego te amicum meum opinabar; condona mihi hunc errorem. Argumenta verò mea qualia sint, utrum ad falsum, an verum; malum, an bonum; cum viris, tum pueris persuadendum facta: judicium penes arbitros æquiores esto. A quibus animadverti & expendi velim epiphonema tuum, post tua argumenta (quæ nostris, vti spero, ne pueris quidem illudent) his subtextum verbis: Vtinam, vtinam sic contenderes, & non rejiceres argumentis bonis fabulas non bonas semper. Ecce, argumenta mea esse bona confiteris ipse, accusator meus; & tua, è contrario, mala. Nimirum lingua lapso (vt est in [a] Græcorum proverbio) verum dicit.

c De amicit.

[a] ὃ γλῶσσ' ἁμαρτάνουσα τἀληθῆ λέγει.

Postremò, quia [d] verba edicti Prætoris, sic à te exposita, ac si vnius tantùm rei nempe artis ludicræ, non duarum, id est artis ludicræ, pronuntiándiue, disiuncte, mentionem facerent, nimis sicco pede te dixi transijsse: quæris, an ego in sicco sim, qui hoc dixerim. In sicco sanè adhuc: & aqua tibi hæret, qua, ne in sicco essem, conatus es me inundare. Nam ad testimonium Alciati, à te citatum, artem non facere eum qui semel, iterum, quid artis facit; respondi, vt concedatur hoc quod illi tribuis, pronuntiandi tamen causa in scenam prodire qui prodit semel tantùm: ac propterea [e] Laberium, quo primùm die prodijt inustam sibi notam infamiæ censuisse; & probrosum visum Romanis (apud [f] Tacitum) vel orationes, vel carmina ita recitare, licet id gratis facerent. Cujus responsionis vt partes, tuo more, quascunque potes carpas, negas te tribuere illud Alciato: haberi enim apud [g] eum, quamvis in [h] subnotato capite sit erratum. Ergóne tribuere duntaxat ij dicendi sunt qui falsò tribuunt: non item qui verè? Profectò tu non [i] tribuis suum cuique, qui tribuendi verbo significationem istam solam tribuis. Egò verò, quia capite à te subnotato illud non reperi, & posse tamen alibi extare cogitavi: verbo tribuendi de industria vsus sum, vt vacarem culpa, seu verè citasses, seu falsò. Quanquam jam ex tui errati correctione falsò citatum esse deprehendo: teque interpolasse locum Alciati inserta voce, Iterum; cùm ille tantùm dixerit,

d L. 1. D. de his qui not. infam.

e Macrob. Saturn. l. 2. cap. 7

f Annal. li. 14.

g Ad c. 207. D. de verbo sign.

h Ad. c. 66.

i L. 10. D. de instit. & jur.

Qui

ᵉ Qui ſemel quid artis facit. Et quorſum (narra mihi) adjeciſti hoc, Iterum? An quia te videbas non ſatis probaturum nullum à ludionibus noſtris labem contrahi, ſi eos tantummodo artis faciendæ nota liberares, qui ſemel quid artis facerent? Quin igitur Alciatum ſcripſiſti affirmare, artem non facere eum qui ſemel, iterum, tertio, quid artis facit? Nam potuiſti eodem iure: & hoc, ad aſſequendum quod volebas, parum eſt. At eos ſaltem qui ſemel prodiunt, non amplius, immunes eſſe notæ, docuiſſe te ais ex Alciato, ſic argumentando: Ars notata eſt edicto; Sed vna proditio non eſt ars; Ego vna proditio non eſt notata. At hæc argumentatio vide ne ſimiliter ſtatuminetur ac ſi quis Ita diſputaret: Fœmina continetur appellatione hominis; Sed Maſculus non eſt fœmina; Ergo maſculus non continetur appellatione hominis. Nam, vt ᵏ fœmina quidem appellatione hominis continetur, ſed non tantùm Fœmina Ita ars notata eſt edicto Prætoris, ſed non tantum ars. Quod animadvertendum tibi propoſui, quam planiſſime potui in tanta brevitate, ex Prætoris verbis, pronũtiandive cauſa, cum eo comparatis quod è Tacito citaras, de orationibus carminibuſque in ſcena recitatis. Et, quoniam non diſtinguit Tacitus mercenarios recitatores à gratuitis, propterea probroſum Romæ viſum dixi tametſi gratis recitarent: vt tu, qui Prætorem nullos vis notaſſe niſi quæſtuarios, iudicum Romanorum hac in parte etiam à tua commentatione diſſidere attenderes, Tu contrà affirmas perſuaſum eſſe tibi ineubuiſſe illos, de quibus Tacitus loquitur, recitationibus, pretij aut præmij ſpe atque fiducia: itaque falſum me colligere, qui notatos dicam tametſi gratis recitarent. Ne tu non ſine cauſa ſyllogiſmalem (quam appellas) altercationem à iuriſprudentia tua reieciſti, ſi ea ratione hoc potes lucrifacere vt talia enthymemata, Perſuaſum eſt mihi te colligere falſum. Itaque falſum colligis, vim idonearum probationum habeant. Sed quicquid tibi ſit perſuaſum, hiſtoria teſtatur eiuſmodi recitatorum, quales ji notabãt quorum verba refert Tacitus, nonnullos extitiſſe qui recitarẽt gratis: atque hos eorum iudicio notatos, à quibus notabantur quicunque in ſcena recitarent. Tales enim erant & ᵐ orationum & carminum recitatores, quorum nemo volũit ⁿ coronam accipere, licet de ea contendiſſent. Talis erat ᵒ carminum recitator Nero:

ᵉ Qui ſemel emit pannos vt venderet, mercator non eſt: quia in eo deficit exercitium.

ᵏ L. 152. D. de verb. ſign.

ˡ De jur. inter. dialog. 4.

ᵐ Eloquentiæ primas nemo tulit, ſed vi-ctorem eſſe Cæſarem pronuntiatum. Tacit. annal. lib. 14.

ⁿ Orationis carminiſque Latini coronam, de qua honeſtiſſimus quiſque contenderat, ipſorum conceſſu conceſſam ſibi recepit. Nero. Sueton. Ner. cap. 12.

ᵒ Carmen in ſcena recitat. Tacitus ann. lib. 19.

Nero quem [a] mercede quicquam facere dedignatum affirmat, qui [b] hoc narrat, [c] Dio. Quid, quod ipſa addis viſum etiam crimen maieſtatis læſæ, ſecundum antiquos Romanorum mores, ſi magiſtratus pro concione legiſſet vel codices (ni malè meminiſti) eorum quæ ad magiſtratus ſpectabant tamen. Diſſimile hoc quidem: & memoriæ tuæ lapſui fortaſſis ex parte tribuendum: Nec enim maieſtatis læſæ accuſatus eſt [d] tribunus plebis, quod pro cõcione codicem legiſſet; tanquã hoc perinde turpe, immo turpius multo, habitum eſſet, quàm orationes aut carmina in ſcena recitare: ſed quod adverſus interceſſionem ſui collegæ, codicem, quem ſcriba legere prohibitus eſt, legiſſet ipſe, itaque violaſſet legem Corneliam maieſtatis. Cæterum, ſi antiquis Romanorum moribus tanti criminis reum fuiſſe magiſtratum, qui vel codices rerum, ad magiſtratus ſpectantium pro concione legiſſet, perſuaſum habes: fierine poteſt vt perſuaſum habeas non iiſdem moribus probroſam Romæ viſam vel gratuitam carminum orationumve in ſcena recitationem? Niſi forte dices te exiſtimare magiſtratus eos tantummodò maieſtatis crimen admiſiſſe, qui mercedis gratia codicem legerent pro concione. Quod mihi perſuaderi prorſus non poteſt perſuaſum tibi eſſe.

Ita poſtulanti tibi vt eorum, quæ inficiaris, quædam, ſi poſſem, docerem & oſtenderem; non in illis ſolùm, ſed etiam in cæteris hoc gratificari ſtudui, vt potui. Maturius id facturus, niſi tu, omiſſa librorum & capitum, in quibus Auguſtini & aliorum quos citas verba ſcripta ſint, indicatione, coëgiſſes me tempus terere prælegendis nonnullis liberis integris, quo loca, quibus certò immixtus videreris, explorate cognita competraq; haberem. Auxit meam huius officij præſtandi cupiditatem & deſiderium tua ſententia, ſententiam non diſſimilem [e] gravioris autoris in memoriam revocans, ad tanta crimina patientem eſſe non oportere. Quare, quod mihi objicis concludens te à me tractari peſſimè, immeritò, hominem mei ſtudioſiſſimum, crimen graviſſimum omnium, ſi verum, non modo in amore non reſpondere, ſed etiam malefactis benevolẽtiam rependere: id immeritò mihi à te obiectum eſſe, tua ipſius voce convinco, & concludo. Nam, quum per epiſtolam olim me moneris eorum quæ putabas perperam aſſerta in meis prælectionibus ad

pri-

[a] Ἀναξίως μισθῷ τι ποιεῖται.
[b] Ἀνεγνωκὼς τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἐστίν.
[c] Xiph. Epit.
[d] C. Cornelius. Cic. Orat. pro Vatin. Aſco. Pedia. in Cice. orat. pro corn. Aut. Auguſt. de legib. cap. 12 & lege Corn. maieſt.
[e] Hieronimi epi. 61. cap. 1. adverſ. errr. Io. Ieroſ.

primum Maceabæorum, his verbis vſus es: Æquũ bonique hæc conſules? Certè ea ipſe ſunt, quæ ego in donis amicorum pretiociſſima ducerem; & vtinam mihi aliquis contigiſſet aliquando, qui in meis ſcriptis præſtare tantum voluiſſet. Vides ne vt ipſe te à me non peſſime, ſed optime tractatum; neque iniuriis affectum, ſed donis; & iis non vulgaribus, ſed longè pretiociſſimis, cariſſimis, optatiſſimis, eſſe fatearis? Quod ſi plus aloës quam mellis medicamentis meis admiſcui, vel cum acrimonia potius maiore tanquam ad ſecundam & vrendum acceſſi: tamen hoc quoquè à [a] prudente morum magiſtro ſcis probari, quum nulla reperitur alia medicina. Ac ego, medicinam aliam ſæpiuſcule in te expertus fruſtra, hanc vnam ſupereſſe ſalutarem duxi; alioqui deſperandum. Præſertim cùm rurſus in priſtinum de mendacio malè officioſum morbũ recidiſſes: idque ita graviter & periculoſè, vt novo typis excuſo opere defenderes, quod in vetere (liberamne amici vocem feres?) peſſime affirmaras. Quantum mutatus ab illo, qui mihi eſſe videbare, quum in epiſtola quadam hac de re ſcripta concluderes hoc modo: "In controverſia hac ſuſtinere, quantum ad theologos pertinet, deinceps aſſenſionem, in animo eſt. tibi ſcilicet, vt debeo, plurimum tribuo, qui me in contrariam vocas ſententiam & eum Tertulliano tandem malim ſapere in Scripturis ſanctis minus, quàm contra.) Atque in alia, ad meam precationem. Qui Petrum erexit vt agnoſcere peccatum quum mendacio officioſo negaſſet ſe noviſſe Chriſtum, te vt ipſum rectè feciſſe ſentias, excitet, neque tibi verbis defendendum putes quod piis factis improbaris; reſpondiſti his verbis: "Ecce, in fine verſor tuarum literarum, nec tuam admonitionem, nec precationem tuam (mihi crede) ſine ingenti affectu animi lego; dixerim nec ſine lacrymis, certè cordis: Deus me dirigat in viam ſuam, & ab omni errore ſartũ tectumq; ſervet, eo maximè, qui animam ſpectat, & veram pietatem infuſcat.) Et qua ego tandẽ, te, qui aliquando hoc animo fuiſti, oratione compelem, niſi qua eccleſiæ Ephecinæ angelum compellavit Chriſtus? [b] Memor eſto vnde excideris, & reſipiſce, & priora opera facito. Vale. Aug. 5.

[a] Cic. de off. lib. 1

[b] Apoc. 2. 5.

FINIS.